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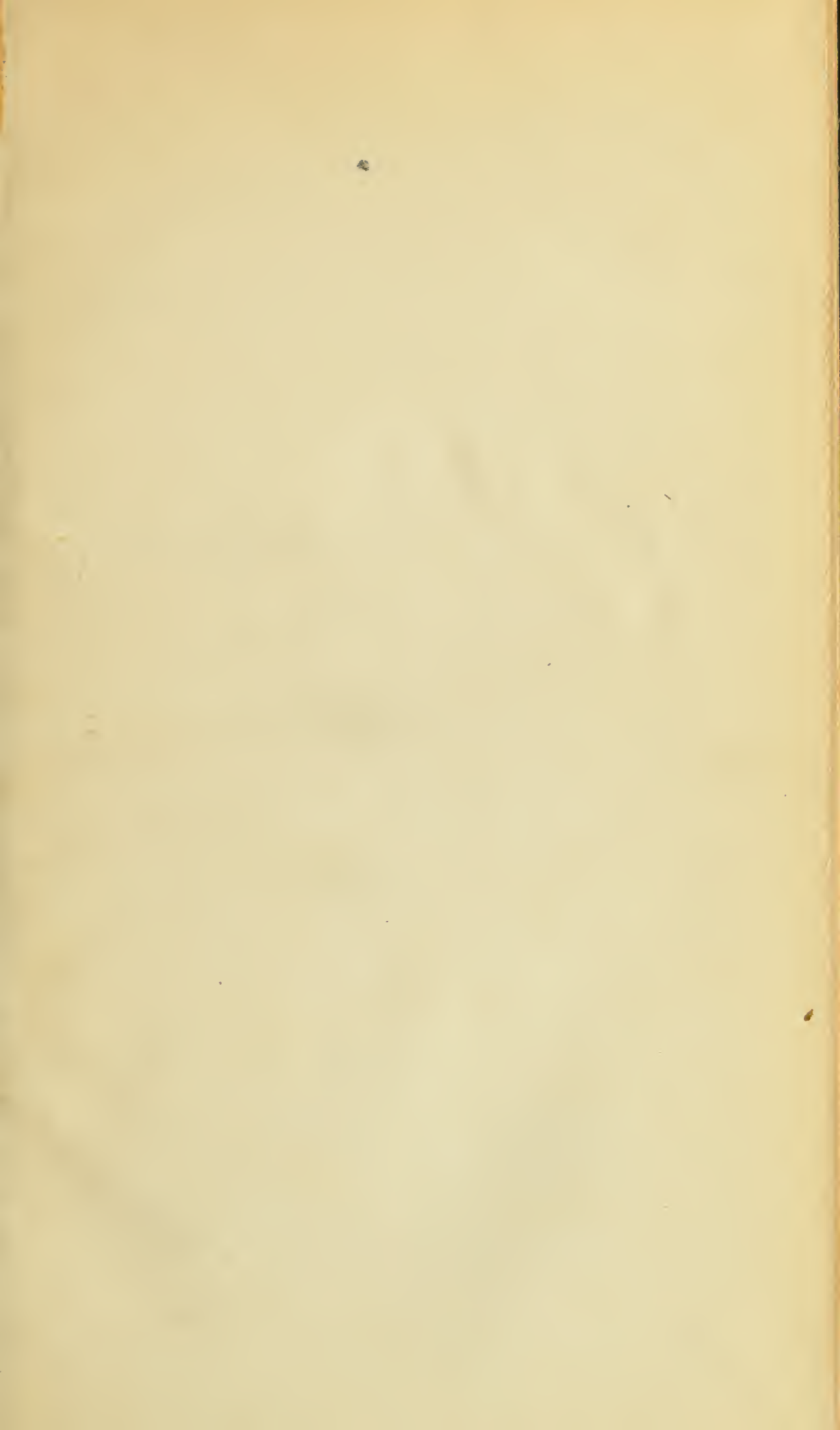
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REPORT

OF THE

Hartford Vice Commission

HARTFORD, CONN.

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REPORT OF
THE HARTFORD VICE COMMISSION.

Letter of Transmittal.

Hartford, Conn., July 14, 1913.

*To his Honor the Mayor and the Honorable Court of Common
Council of the City of Hartford.*

Gentlemen :

In January, 1912, the following resolution was passed by the Court of Common Council :

"That the Mayor is hereby authorized and directed to appoint a Committee of not more than fifteen residents of the City of Hartford, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the conditions existing within the limits of this City with reference to the social evil, so-called.

The Commission shall from time to time transmit to the Mayor and Court of Common Council written reports of existing conditions, together with such recommendations as it shall deem advisable."

In compliance with the above resolution we, the undersigned, beg to transmit herewith, with accompanying resolutions, a report on our investigation of the social evil, together with such recommendations as we are prepared to make. Our report is based, as far as possible, on concrete data gathered in Hartford. No adequate study of our local problem could be made, however, without a consideration of some of the more general factors; and when a piece of investigation has been well done elsewhere, and it was evident that the conclusions reached were applicable to this city, it has seemed unwise to go to the expense of having a similar investigation made here.

The cost of hiring competent investigators and stenographers is considerable. The Commission has expended to date \$2,160.30, and could have used a larger sum to great advantage. All the sums spent were obtained from generous private donors. Only twenty dollars, however, came to the Commission without solicitation. No public money has been spent.

The Commission has held many hearings. Testimony has been invited from all individuals, societies or organizations that might be conceived to have information as to causes and effects of prostitution, or distinct views upon methods of dealing with this evil. Much of the work has been done by committees appointed by the Commission. Several private investigators were employed and a large mass of evidence gathered.

We take this opportunity of thanking those organizations and individuals who have in any way aided in the carrying out of our plans.

Respectfully,

ERNEST A. WELLS, M. D.,

Chairman

REPORT OF
THE HARTFORD VICE COMMISSION
FOREWORD.

In undertaking the performance of the duty imposed upon us by the resolution of the Court of Common Council, we trust we have not failed to appreciate the immense difficulty of the problem presented by the social evil. The appearance of this evil in every period of civilization, and the nature of some of its causes, indicate the existence of more or less prostitution as inevitable under present conditions. But this constitutes no argument for letting it run its unbridled course. As well let murder and theft go unchecked because it is not possible to stamp them out entirely. The suffering and degradation caused by commercialized vice make it a duty to do all in our power to diminish it. Even if only a small reduction of the evil could be gained by extreme efforts it would be worth while. We are of the opinion, however, that certain measures can be taken which distinctly tend to check the growth of commercialized vice, and limit its scope. Moreover, an aroused public conscience makes the present a favorable time for striving to establish a higher standard.

CHAPTER I.

LEGAL ASPECTS.

Hartford became incorporated as a city about the end of the eighteenth century. There is no record that the municipal government has ever made any attempt in the form of ordinances to regulate the social evil. This question has always been dealt with by the state government.* It follows, therefore, that all questions as to the adequacy of the law in regard to the matter are state questions, and that the city cannot by ordinance modify the evident intent of these laws.

For the enforcement of the laws relating to prostitution, so far as the city of Hartford is concerned, responsibility rests primarily with the Mayor. This responsibility is somewhat limited and qualified by the fact that the Board of Police Commissioners have practical charge of the police force and their attitude toward a given body of law is immediately reflected in the attitude of patrolmen on the streets.

The Judge of the Police Court, and his appointee the Prosecuting Attorney, are the judicial and legal agents of the state. The duties of these three sets of officials are so inter-related that to attain reasonable efficiency in law enforcement they must work in harmony. This is said with full recognition of the legal fact that the Mayor is responsible for the enforcement of law within the municipality.

In Hartford, as elsewhere, discretion in the enforcement of laws against prostitution has been carried so far as almost to nullify these laws. In the face of explicit prohibition of prostitution there has grown up a policy of toleration and more or less of regulation by municipal authorities. Reasons for a course of action approved by almost every police official in the land are entitled to a careful consideration.

* A compendium of Connecticut statutes relating to the social evil has been published by the Connecticut Society of Social Hygiene, and can be obtained from that society.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLICY OF TOLERATION AND SEGREGATION.

I. ARGUMENTS FOR TOLERATION AND SEGREGATION.

The chief reasons given by executive city officials for what amounts to an arbitrary nullification of many of the laws enacted by the state for the suppression of prostitution are as follows:

A. That when recognized houses of prostitution are reduced in number below a certain minimum, further repression does not reduce the evil but causes it to spread into other parts of the city.

B. That such repression results in an increase of solicitation on the streets and exposure of our youth to temptation otherwise avoided.

C. That such repression results in an increase of seduction and rape.

D. That if the regular, tolerated houses are suppressed, such small houses as operate secretly in other parts of the city create large opportunity for police graft.

E. That the regular semi-public houses are under such control by the police that criminal disorder rarely occurs in them; and that, as a matter of fact, they are a considerable help to the police in the detection and arrest of criminals.

F. That by means of a segregated district, with the listing of the houses and inmates, an improved condition can be maintained with regard to sanitation, as those affected with venereal diseases can be temporarily isolated, and the transmission of these diseases reduced to a minimum.

II. DISCUSSION OF THE ABOVE ARGUMENTS.

Argument A. Dissemination of the Evil. Before considering the argument advanced by advocates of segregation, that closing the houses of prostitution results in spreading the social evil throughout the city, let us note that the policy which they favor does not limit prostitution to one locality. In other words, complete segregation has never been possible. The eleven houses tolerated by the Hartford police in 1911 were scattered from Commerce and Potter streets to Ferry and State streets. This area could perhaps be called a segregated district, although there was a great diversity in the character and pursuits of its population. There were, however, a large number of resorts of a somewhat different character in many other parts of the city. These included small apartments, private rented rooms, road houses, cafes, restaurants, private dining rooms or booths, hotels both great and small, all doing an assignation business for prostitutes not residing in the regular houses. Those not in the houses were by far the larger number. This is the situation invariably found where segregation or regulation is attempted. The Morals Police of Paris admit that but a small proportion of the prostitutes of that city are under any police surveillance whatever. Similar testimony comes from other European cities, and the evidence before this Commission points to the same failure to control the larger part of prostitution in this city.

The policy of segregation obviously does not limit the evil to one locality. But does the opposed policy, that of closing the regulated houses, result in an increase of vice in other parts of the city? The regular houses in Hartford have been closed since December 29, 1911. There is no evidence of a general increase of prostitution at other points. Most of the places listed by this Commission as being more or less the resorts of vice during the past eighteen months are known to have borne the same character in years past; and, of sixty-six women known to this Commission as prostitutes not in regular houses during these eighteen months, all but seven were engaged in prostitution in the same manner and in the same places before the order closing the houses went into effect. The seven women referred to came

here after the houses were closed and for reasons in no way connected with their closing, as will be more fully shown later.*

It appears that the inmates of the regular houses are not readily interchangeable with those operating as street walkers and independent prostitutes. Only three or four of the thirty-five women who had been in the tolerated houses have since been seen soliciting on the streets. The majority of them have left the city. A few attempts to open new houses have been made.† These attempts, however, were unsuccessful because of the activity of the police. Even during their brief period of operation they were hampered to such an extent that our investigators had great difficulty in securing introductions through which to gain admission. Under a repressive policy and meeting great difficulties, such houses have comparatively small power for evil, and their meagre financial returns are discouraging to those interested. That the total amount of prostitution has been decreased in Hartford by the closing of the houses is best borne out by remarks made by members of the underworld of Hartford while talking to agents of this Commission, who were posing as of their own sort.

January 3, 1913. X23, waiter at AY24, "They are raising hell all through the town; about eight weeks ago they started to clean up; even tried to get something on us; a girl cannot do anything but try to pick them up."

January 6, 1913. A25, the beer man, "All girls gone or laying low; a few left—on the quiet; they raised hell about a year ago after the Fusco affair."

January 6, 1913. A man in C26 saloon, XY street, "This thing won't be tied up forever; it will be wide open again before long."

January 7, 1913. The waiter at A28 restaurant at XY29 street, "They have closed everything tighter than hell here. Why, a while ago a girl could get a few dollars on the street; but now they are chasing them there. Just because some damned w——— did not keep quiet and raised all kinds of hell now they all have to suffer. My hump (girl) has not made five dollars since Friday night (Jan. 4th)."

* Of about one hundred prostitutes at present in Hartford known to us by name we have the complete personal histories of sixty-six. (See Chapter V.) Sixty-four out of these sixty-six were practicing prostitution before the houses were ordered closed. Seven of these came to Hartford after the houses were closed. The two girls who are known to have become prostitutes since the houses were closed became such elsewhere than in Hartford and before coming here, and are included in the seven mentioned above.

† See page 35.

January 8, 1913. The waiter at C30, "Ten years ago you could make all kinds of money. This won't last long; before a year this town will be wide open again."

January 8, 1913. The waiter at Z31, "AB32 has three houses on XY33 street and can't get her taxes out of upstairs; no one will rent them."

January 9, 1913. C34, "People are afraid to rent to women since the houses were closed. I have lived here all my life and I never saw things as they are now; a woman ain't safe on the street after seven o'clock if she is straight."

January 10, 1913. Prostitute at AY35, "There are a few places open but quiet. There is a girl has a room on XY36 street, who makes more money than when she was with AB37. We go to New Haven sometimes. If things don't open up next month we are going to Pittsburgh, my friend and I; it is wide open there."

January 11, 1913. Z40, waiter at Y41, "This Vice Commission started about nine months ago and everyone thought it was a bluff. Lately they have been getting strangers in and everyone has to be careful. Everybody is scared. There are government men in town and everyone has been warned to be careful."

January 11, 1913. B42, street prostitute, "There are a hundred places you can get in after you are known, but everyone is scared now."

January 13, 1913. Girl at Z43, XY44 street, "Madam is doing little now owing to the way things are."

January 20, 1913. A45, (Previously arrested for keeping a house of assignation) "My rooms don't pay now. I may leave town."

January 24, 1913. C46, bartender at B47 saloon, corner of XY48 and XY49 street, "A50, who had a place opposite me was shut up over a year ago; his stuff is packed up in the house now. Some tell him that Hartford will open up."

January 24, 1913. C51, "The Mayor appointed a Vice Commission and gave them three thousand dollars to get the goods on those fellows and women who lay around the East Side. The better class got out about a year ago, but it is the foreigner and very tough class that are there yet."

January 28, 1913. Prostitute at the A52 restaurant, "I have not made enough to buy a new fine comb extra in three weeks; even a "bull"* is wise as they think that they have got to get wise."

January 31, 1913. Waiter at Y53, "Things are getting too warm for everyone now. The girls will have to hunt new hunting grounds or starve."

* Policeman.

February 7, 1913. BC54, manicure of ill-repute, "Just now they have so many watchers out it is not advisable to go in a crowd—anywhere close by."

February 8, 1913. B55, prostitute, "Business is very poor this week and I am afraid it will be worse. The men are afraid of going anywhere any more. The waiters at Z56 and X57 are afraid to allow strangers the liberties they had been having."

February 13, 1913. A58, beer man for saloon at XY59 street, when approached by an investigator for assistance in locating a house of prostitution which might be bought, "I don't know anything. I have no one like that now I sell to."

We have also a statement of Mr. Hugh M. Alcorn, State's Attorney for Hartford County, made at the March, 1913, Criminal Term of the Superior Court.

"It appears from the evidence in this case that the lid is on tight here and the authorities in their efforts to make Hartford as clean as possible have succeeded. The testimony of these men who stated that they were looking for girls and that they traveled around among the saloons looking for girls has been that they could not find them."

In this connection it should be noted that the experience of Hartford shows that it is entirely possible to keep the houses of prostitution closed, although some superficially informed persons in Hartford denied this possibility. Police officials to a man have never hesitated to say that regular houses can be closed and kept closed. Detective William J. Burns states emphatically that this can be done in any city. (N. Y. Independent, November 29, 1912, p. 1272.) Former Chief of Police Gunn, in reviewing the year from this point of view said (December 15, 1912) "I am not sure that Hartford is any better today than it was a year ago but of this much I am convinced, that it is no worse. If the people wish these houses closed, they shall be closed, and I hope now that they are closed they will let us keep them closed as it is much easier for us than a constantly changing policy." Our present Chief of Police, Garrett J. Farrell, writes (July 1, 1913), "I am able to say that houses of prostitution do not exist in Hartford at the present time; and, with the conditions now in existence, I find it much easier to conduct police affairs than I would under the former conditions."

The investigations of this Commission completely corroborate the statements made by the police that all regular semi-public houses of prostitution in Hartford have been closed effectively since December 29, 1911. Have the dire evils predicted by some as the certain result of closing the brothels come to pass?

It is obviously impossible for any body of men to say with certainty whether or not the total amount of sexual irregularity has been increased or decreased by the experiment of the past year, if the term "sexual irregularity" is to be understood as including all forms of illicit sexual indulgence; but of one thing we are certain, namely, that *commercialized vice and prostitution* have distinctly decreased since the houses were closed. The comments of the underworld show this. We know that nearly all of the occupants of the former houses left town. We know that no corresponding number of prostitutes came to town—in fact, it is probable that those who came, came regardless of the closing of the houses and would have come anyway. Certainly all our evidence indicates this. Furthermore, a woman in a regular house can and does serve more patrons than a street walker. Again, the closing of the houses served a notice upon prostitutes and their kind that has resulted in their being less brazen in plying their trade. It was also accompanied by increased police activity. The very fact that houses have been kept closed so long and the police have been active so long has gradually been interpreted as showing that the people of Hartford mean business.

Argument B. Street Solicitation. We have no reason to believe that there has been an increase in street walking as a result of the closing of the houses, although from the nature of the subject conclusive statistical evidence is not obtainable. In general we get the impression that the supply of prostitutes outside the houses has not been materially changed by the closing of the houses. The following table of arrests of females shows an increase of arrests for street-walking. This increase, however, is probably explained by increased police activity and by the establishment in 1912 of a special squad for the arrest of street-walkers. The figures in the table are too small to be conclusive and must be taken for what they are worth.

FEMALES ARRESTED IN THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
Abortion,	0	0	1	0	0
Adultery,	8	5	3	2	5
Assault,	2	5	7	2	4
Assault and Battery,	0	0	0	1	0
Begging,	0	0	0	0	1
Breach of Peace,	21	45	48	48	75
Bigamy,	0	1	0	2	0
Danger falling into habits of vice,	9	6	28	25	32
Disorderly Conduct,	1	0	4	2	0
Disorderly House Keeping,	8	10	1	4	7
Disorderly House Frequenting,	8	25	2	4	0
Drunkenness,	197	195	238	279	439
False Pretense,	1	0	0	0	0
Forgery,	0	0	0	1	0
Fornication,	4	5	6	9	20
Fugitive from Justice,	0	1	0	0	0
House Ill Fame Keeping,	6	15	14	1	3
House Ill Fame Frequenting,	32	37	21	3	5
Incorrigible,	7	9	3	9	8
Improper Conduct,	2	0	0	0	0
Illicit Cohabiting,	2	0	0	0	0
Murder,	1	0	0	0	1
Murder of new born babe,	0	0	0	1	0
Neglect of Child,	0	0	0	0	4
Practicing medicine without license,	0	1	0	0	0
Prostitutes,	1	1	1	0	4
Runaway Girls,	0	7	6	6	5
Street-Walking,	3	3	14	10	24
Selling Liquor without License,	1	3	0	0	0
Shop Lifting,	3	4	5	0	0
Statutory Offence,	1	0	0	5	3
Suspicion,	0	0	0	2	2
Theft,	20	35	19	27	27
Vagrancy,	1	5	7	6	5
Violation of Liquor Law,	0	0	2	1	0

Violation of Probation,	0	0	0	0	8
Wilful injury to property,	0	0	0	1	0
Carrying Concealed Weapons,					1
Lodger,					6
Demented,					4
Neglected,					1
Trespass on Railroad,					1
Truancy,					1
Violation of Midwife Law,					1
	339	418	430	451	697

Argument C. Seduction and Rape. Walter H. Clark, Judge of the Hartford Police Court, in answer to the question, "Have you noticed any increase in crimes of violence, as was prophesied?" says, "In reference to the statement that this policy (of suppression) would be followed by an increase in crimes of violence,* so far as we have been able to determine the reverse is true. There has been a decrease in crimes of this character. Miss Gauthier ‡ looked up her figures and found that during the year 1911 I was called upon to commit twenty-four young women to institutions; last year (1912) I committed six only; in 1911, Miss Gauthier tells me, there were six cases of abuse of little girls by men; and last year there were two. That is not decisive by any means; those statistics may be entirely upset in the next month, though this is improbable. Personally I am very much impressed by the figures and believe that they fairly represent the improved conditions of the city."

It is the opinion of the Commission that the present policy has been tried long enough to indicate that the argument that closing the houses of ill-fame will result in an increase of seduction and rape, has no force under the conditions prevailing in this city. If the policy had such effects there should be some evidence of it after a trial of eighteen months. Such evidence as we have points the other way.

Argument D. Police Graft. Such investigations as have been made of the influence of the policy of keeping the regular houses closed on the morale of the police lend no support to

* The reference is to Seduction and Rape.

‡ Probation Officer.

the argument that the result is an increase of graft. (See Vigilance, January, 1913, p. 16). In our investigation in this city we have not discovered anything suggestive of a general demoralization of the police by petty graft on vice. The evidence is that the general discipline of the department has improved since a more strict enforcement of law was decided upon.

In this connection we may state that this Commission realizes that the public expected among other things that it would investigate the possibility of complicity on the part of the police with commercialized vice in this city. We believe we are cognizant of most of the rumors of such complicity. However, to have passed conclusively on the question of graft would have cost this Commission anywhere from fifteen hundred to three thousand dollars. We were in a position to press this matter to a conclusion several times but could not proceed for want of money. A60, the beer man, told one of our investigators that if the detective could show himself on the level he, A60, could reach B61, a certain police officer. C62 said that X63, her lover, bartender at Y64 saloon, XY65 and XY66 streets, could protect her; he could fix up any trouble or find someone who could. We have evidence in several instances of derelictions from duty on the part of individual officers. We have seen them drinking in uniform while on duty; we have seen them overlook the manifestations of vice directly within their gaze. Not many weeks ago a house in which several prostitutes were doing a considerable business was warned by a policeman that the house was being watched both by the police and the Vice Commission. This was probably true as regards the police, and certainly was true as regards the Vice Commission. The woman who ran the house was advised to get rid of two of the prostitutes who lived there, and she did so. This same policeman had formerly removed an inmate of one of the houses on XY67 street the night before the place was to be raided, and had sent this girl with her baggage to the house spoken of above. For this reason he was obligated to the landlady of the house, and he took this opportunity to pay the debt. We know of one policeman who, we have good reason to believe, was at least formerly financially interested in a bawdy house, and who has since then been very intimate with a woman who attempted to run a small house clandestinely. Nevertheless, from all that we have discovered,

Hartford has good reason to be proud of her police force as a whole. Her streets are well policed; the men mind their own business, and almost without exception exercise their functions in a very satisfactory manner.

Argument E. Assistance to the Police. We have not been able to find any evidence that the Hartford police ever received from the houses of prostitution indispensable aid in the detection of crime and the arrest of criminals.* On the other hand there is reason to think that the task of the police is increased by the disorderly characters attracted to a city through the brothels, and that the departure of the prostitute leads to an exodus of such criminal characters.

Argument F. Sanitary. The argument for reglementation of the social evil on sanitary grounds hinges on the assumed possibility of isolating those affected with contagious forms of the venereal diseases from the uncontaminated, at least to a reasonably effective degree. This idea rests in turn on the erroneous supposition that the negative diagnosis of these diseases is comparatively easy for competent physicians. It is not generally realized that our knowledge of these diseases has been revolutionized within a few years by the discovery of the causative organism in each. The cause of gonorrhoea was discovered in 1879 and not accepted as an established fact until 1885. The cause of syphilis was not discovered until 1906. These diseases are now recognized as belonging to the class of chronic disorders and very many conditions formerly ill understood, and still masquerading under other names, are now known to be but the ultimate result of these affections. Furthermore, and most important of all, although a positive diagnosis of these diseases is a comparatively easy thing, a negative diagnosis, giving complete assurance that a given individual is not affected by one of these diseases, in a contagious form, is practically an impossibility, even when the most complete tests are applied. It is absolutely impossible by the ordinary methods of cursory

* The arrest, as reported in the newspapers, of one Rudolph, a dangerous bank robber and murderer, in one of the houses of prostitution about ten years ago, has often been cited as an instance of the valuable aid given to the police by these houses. It appears, however, from authoritative information that Rudolph was tracked to the house by detectives and that the detectives and police were given no aid whatever by the keeper and inmates of the house in question.

examination. In former years reputable physicians of Hartford regularly inspected the inmates of some of the houses of prostitution and gave certificates of freedom from venereal disease. This was done on the initiative of the keeper and at the expense of the inmates, neither the city nor the police taking any part in it. In recent years reputable physicians have not made these examinations, chiefly, it seems, because modern bacteriology has taught us that such certificates are not worth the paper they are written on.

Against the enforcement of medical examinations of prostitutes there are the following objections:

a. As above explained, it is impossible to make a negative diagnosis of venereal diseases where the conclusions must be reached entirely without the co-operation of the patient.

b. Even if a negative diagnosis were possible, since prostitutes are used many times a night such certificate would give security only to the first patron; after him such a certificate would be worthless.

c. There is no way for the patron to identify the prostitute as the true owner of the certificate.

d. It is admitted by the Morals Police of Paris, where this system has been in vogue perhaps as long as it has anywhere, that only one-tenth of the prostitutes of that city are examined.

e. Forcible examination "without trial by jury" has been held to be illegal, to say nothing of its being impracticable, and, from a hygienic view point, absurd.

f. Enforced, or even voluntary, examination of prostitutes is practically equivalent to licensing prostitutes; and any system by which the state becomes in any way a partner in vice is repugnant to the American people.

g. Medical examination by giving a false idea of security to the patrons of the houses of prostitution encourages vice.

As a matter of fact, medical men now know that practically every prostitute is diseased and most of them are capable of spreading disease. We therefore believe that a segregated or reglemented district, instead of being a safeguard against the spread of venereal disease, is, because of its easier access and larger number of exposures, the method best adapted to the spread of these diseases.

III. CONCLUSION.

The foregoing discussion has shown the inconclusiveness of the arguments advanced in favor of segregation. There is almost nothing to be said for the policy. On the other hand, there are strong reasons against its adoption, and reasons which are especially cogent for the city of Hartford at the present moment. Even if the policy of suppression be regarded as only an experiment, to give it up now would be taking a step backward. The experiment, if such we may call it, has certainly had no evil results. Most of those best qualified to judge affirm that it has led to better conditions. In the face of these facts a return to the old plan of tolerating houses of ill-fame would be a deliberate connivance at an illegal traffic, and would make the city an accomplice in commercialized vice. Toleration and segregation never had any legal sanction. Moreover they were not necessary. The experience of the past eighteen months has demonstrated to our municipal authorities the possibility of performing the duty imposed upon them by the state, a duty to which they were bound by their oath of office. There can be, therefore, no question as to the obligation of our city government. Finally, as will be shown later in our report, the "white slave traffic" is a necessary adjunct of the business of the houses of prostitution. Toleration of these houses, therefore, implies toleration of this revolting traffic. Once this is understood, there is no doubt as to what policy will be demanded by public opinion.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF PROSTITUTION IN HARTFORD.

Before December 29, 1911, there were recognized houses of prostitution in this city, existing against the law, but under the protection of a long tradition. Thirty years ago these houses were very numerous. For the ten years preceding December, 1911, there were approximately eleven continuously doing business. They were raided occasionally. On conviction, the keepers and inmates were fined. The fines were paid, and the houses re-opened on the day the cases were disposed of in the police court. The police kept records of the houses and of the inmates, claimed the right to enter and did enter the houses at will.

About six years ago some public excitement over the subject of prostitution resulted in a change of policy by the police judge, so that upon conviction the proprietors and inmates were sent to jail instead of being sentenced to pay a fine. This policy was maintained by the police court about twelve months, when it was learned that the houses had been open and running for nearly the whole year. Thereupon without incurring public criticism, the police judge reverted to the earlier method of imposing fines instead of jail sentences, having become persuaded that the police did not bring in offenders when the penalty for the offense was a jail sentence, and that a system of jail sentences had no effect upon the traditional policy of toleration except to leave the houses more uncontrolled than ever.

The policy of toleration, extending over a great many years, resulted within the last ten years in making the city a recognized market for prostitutes. This did not become apparent until the so-called white slave traffic became organized in New York City and the subject of investigation by the United States Government.

The cities in Connecticut are so close to New York that they early felt the operations of the market. The larger cities

in this state became good places of disposal, especially those which had adopted the policy of toleration. Hartford probably ranked third in this state as a market for the traffic in women. The traffic became so carefully organized that when some convention was to be held in the city, girls were sent for from New York to live in the tolerated houses in order to meet the increased demand for their services. They stayed during the convention and were promptly returned to headquarters in New York, whence they were moved to other places according to the demand.

In December, 1911, a criminal action for extortion was brought against a federal detective named Pigniuolo, of New York, the complaining witness being the proprietor of a bawdy house in Hartford. In the course of the trial the operation of this house was brought to light, and the system in part exposed. The house was known as a fifty cent house. The trial resulted in a disagreement of the jury. The most important consequence however was that public attention was drawn to the traffic, and to prostitution in general.

This was the situation which produced the Mayor's order referred to above, and the eventual organization of a Vice Commission, upon a resolution of the Court of Common Council passed on the recommendation of the Mayor.

Description of regular houses and existence of genuine traffic in girls as they existed in Hartford prior to the order of closure, December 29th, 1911.

The following much expurgated description is introduced in order to show not only the existence here, in the past, of a genuine traffic in girls, but also just what it is that the advocates of toleration and segregation would re-establish in this city.

The last week in September, 1911, three detectives in the employ of the United States Department of Justice came to Hartford in company with two notorious white slave traders of New York City, Morris Cohen, aged 65, and his wife, Lena, aged about 32. One of the detectives, a woman, pretended to be a madam who wished to buy a house of ill-fame in this city. The other two detectives, men unknown to the Cohens, shadowed the party. The immediate object was to convict the Cohens of

sending a girl from New York to this city the day previous, a fact which they had learned through the mails. In this they were entirely successful. The woman detective had previously established herself within these traffickers; had, in fact, even lived with them in New York City. The entire party arrived in Hartford soon after noon and proceeded to a certain well known resort.

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The Cohens had been in the habit of furnishing girls for this house, as they had for several other houses in this city. By pretending that she wished to buy a house of ill-fame here, the detective was in hopes that she would be taken around to all of the houses to which the Cohens supplied girls until she found the particular girl they were after. The girl was then to be used in the conviction of the Cohens. This same Cohen had had houses on XY68 Street in this city in times past and he was fairly well known here, many speaking to him on the street as the party passed.

We quote from the report of the woman detective:

"We passed a saloon and a restaurant, and then opened what appeared to have been a stable door; up a flight of stairs into a low ceilinged room. There was an oilcloth on the floor and a cylinder stove in the center of the room; at one side was an opening in the wall not as high as a table, supposed to be a 'get-away' into the next house. A young man sat there, a typical tough. He was the 'Checker.' The checker is the man who takes the money from the customer before a man can go into a room with a girl. The check is given by the customer to the girl and she is supposed to turn over the checks to the proprietor.

The girls are paid at the end of the week according to the number of checks they turn in. This was the system in this particular house."

In other houses in Hartford the girl was held responsible for the money and if for any reason she failed to collect the fee from the customer the amount of such fee was charged to her.

"There were two bedrooms divided by a wooden partition. The two beds had no linen on them, just a piece of dark, dirty oilcloth; there was a pillow on each with a case on, which was the only piece of white on the bed. There were three girls there. They appeared to be not more than seventeen. Two of

the girls were Jewish and the blonde appeared to be an American girl. I found practically the same costume in every house I visited in Hartford."

In the high priced houses the same general scheme was observed but the bed linen and the costumes of the girls were kept scrupulously clean.

"I asked Cohen if any of these girls belonged to him, meaning if he had sent them. He said, 'No'; there were none there that belonged to him. This was a fifty cent house; twenty-five cents to the girl and twenty-five cents to the proprietor (A69); the first six dollars went for board, one dollar for the doctor and twenty-five cents for gas."

These girls had their regular hours on duty; and one girl frequently accommodated a large number of men in twelve hours. The Chicago Vice Commission report says that girls in a house of this character average fifteen customers a night. AB70, an inmate of CXY71 Street, generally considered the best high priced house in Hartford, told one of our investigators that she had accommodated twenty-five men in one night.

"We remained in A69's house about half an hour, during which time Cohen showed me the fine points about the place, telling me that it was a good business and endeavoring to get me to buy it. A69 wanted \$1000 for the good will of the place, which did not include the house or its furnishings, or the girls; simply the location and reputation. It was what is called 'key money'. The cheaper houses have the general reputation of being the best money makers."

"From A69's place Cohen took me to the house at CXY72 Street, run by AC73. Here the door was barred with iron. After passing through the hall we entered the parlor. There were three girls seated on a sofa under the window and one girl sitting on an adjoining sofa.

While Cohen and AC73 were outside discussing the price of this house, Mrs. Cohen (Lena) turned to a dark haired girl—I have forgotten her name now—and asked her what she was doing there; at the same time she began to swear at the girl and the girl swore back at Lena. It seems that Lena Cohen had sent her some five months before to another house in Hartford and she was very much surprised to find her in AC73's house. AC73 was in disfavor with the Cohens because she had refused

to allow the girls to pay the Cohens the \$2 a week commission beyond a certain length of time. For this reason the Cohens had ceased to do any more business with AC73.

If a madam in Hartford wanted a girl from the Cohens in New York, she would write to the Cohens to send her a bolt of silk, or something of that kind, and she would enclose \$5 and the railroad fare for the girl from New York to Hartford. The girl would then be sent, and of the first money she received, \$5 would be sent to New York and \$2 a week as long thereafter as she stayed in the house to which she had been sent.

Lena told me that this was one of her girls.

'She asked her, "How do you like it up here?" 'Do you make much money?' The girl said, 'I ain't made much yet.' Then Lena took her out in the hall, as she afterwards said, 'to get some money out of her.'

I of course found the place unsuitable and wanted to look further; being still in search of the particular girl who had been sent to Hartford the day before.

AC73 gave the girls two meals a day. While we were there a tough looking fellow came in and brought them some sandwiches, and also brought them the silk with which they were doing some cheap embroidery.

We then went to the house run by BA74, at the corner of XY75 and XY76 Streets, a house the good will of which, another detective of the Department of Justice had been unable to purchase a few weeks before for \$2,500. This place was in a second story over a small store. The store was a blind in which practically nothing was sold. The entrance to the second story was from XY76 Street. Passing up the stairway we turned into the kitchen, and as we turned there was a trap door in the floor. The oilcloth was cut to fit it. Underneath the trap door, as we learned later, was a ladder going down into the pretended store below. The room into which we had come was rather small but was very neatly furnished; much more so than either of the two places previously described. In this house there were two girls; one thirty years of age, and the other the girl we were searching for. She said she was twenty but she looked much younger. I knew she was the girl we were searching for because as we entered, Lena said, 'Hello; when did you get here? You come by last night?' And she said, 'Yes; I got here by

nine o'clock. Get my fellow to bring me a silk wrapper because CA77 (the madam) don't like what I got.'

"By a subterfuge I was able to get alone with this Rosie, the younger girl, and the other inmate.

I said to Rosie, 'Say Kid, how long you been here?'

She said, 'I came last night by nine o'clock.'

'Did Lena send you here?'

'Sure. My fellow went to Lena and got me the place.'

'Who paid your car fare?'

'Lena gave me the money but CA77 (the madam) had to give it to Lena.'

Then I turned to this other girl and I said:

'How long have you been here?'

'I have been here three months.'

'Do you like it?'

'Yes.'

'Where did you come from?'

'From another house around town.'

For fear of arousing suspicion I could only ask in a general way about the business. When CA77 came out of the other room she walked over to this trap door and lifted it up; she leaned over, drew the ladder back, went down the ladder into the store, and brought up a bottle of some kind of crushed fruit drink. I talked to her further about selling; but she said she was not going to sell; that CB 78 (her male financial backer) wanted her to but she didn't want to.

These people were arrested the following week; and as soon as the principals in Hartford were arrested a telephone message was sent to New York and I then entered the Cohens home and was arrested with them.

Those arrested in Hartford turned State's evidence and the Cohens were convicted of trafficking in women."

The three houses above described are fairly typical of the eleven houses running in Hartford at the time Mayor Smith ordered all such places closed.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESENT CONDITIONS.

I. DESCRIPTION OF DISORDERLY SALOONS, CAFES, ETC. AS THEY EXISTED DURING THE WINTER OF 1912 AND 1913.

CX79's SALOON.

The saloon and so-called "Ladies and Gent's Dining Room and Cafe" at ABXY80 Street which advertised "Order Cooking A Specialty" was patronized a long time chiefly if not exclusively by prostitutes and by the men seeking them. It was notorious as a meeting place for men and women of this class. It was dirty; the suggestion that meals were served was a blind. Men requested services and women solicited openly. Disorder of all sorts was the rule, much of it so vile as to be unsuited to this report. The police watched this place more or less all the winter but their detectives are well known and warning of their approach was given inside; whereupon many left and the rest assumed a milder course. We know this because one of our investigators was there at the time and heard the approach of the detectives announced.

On January 23, CX79 was convicted in the police court for allowing women to loiter in his place and was fined on a plea of guilty. On February 13 he was convicted a second time on two counts for the same offense and was fined \$50 and costs on each count on a plea of not guilty. On this second conviction CX79 took an appeal to the Superior Court and the case was heard at the March 1913 term, where the previous conviction was sustained and he was fined in the same amount. There being no appeal taken to the Supreme Court the judgment of the Superior Court stands and the license expires.

BY81's CAFE.

The following description of the Cafe and Restaurant run in connection with BY81's is typical of that place for a long time

past and for most of the past winter. It had rooms on the third floor partitioned off and closed with wooden doors. Each room is furnished with a heavy table and four chairs. On the second floor is a large room around the side of which are arranged booths separated by curtains hung over iron poles and reaching from about three feet from the ceiling close down to the floor. These booths are furnished in the same manner as the rooms above. Women have been seen to solicit patrons at CX79's saloon and then followed to this cafe.

On another occasion at CX79's three men were seen to solicit three women known to the Commission as prostitutes and soliciting daily in CX79's cafe. They were followed over to BY81's Cafe. The party stayed there over an hour and when they came out the girls went one way and the men another. BY81's Cafe was habitually used by the prostitutes of all the cafes as a place of assignation.

Different male detectives in our employ took prostitutes from the street into these rooms and booths, and learned from them that sexual immorality of all sorts was habitually practiced by them there.* Seeking advice from the waiter, one of our detectives was told to "Go ahead; nobody will come near this booth while the curtains are drawn"; the girl said "I told you so; it is done in these booths every day." Three of the other booths were occupied at that time and the conversation in one corroborated the reputation of the place. Couples entering the second floor almost invariably ask the waiter if there are any vacancies on the floor above. The upper rooms are preferred on account of their greater privacy.

When two women and two men in one party came in together each couple took a separate booth. As soon as a couple enters a booth the waiter draws the curtain and retires. He can be called by a bell and indicator. He does not come until called. On approaching the booth he regularly shuffles his feet and then pauses before opening the curtain.

Drinks are always called for and served. The prices are those of a first class hotel but some of the food is poor. Eatables are not so frequently requested, but are served if ordered. The

* The gathering of the evidence in this report did not involve the commission of any criminal acts on the part of our investigators.

things actually seen and heard by our agents in this place, in large part not suitable for publication, establish beyond question that it is habitually used for immoral purposes.

The reputation of this cafe is of long standing and is well known to the police. The downstairs part of the cafe is patronized by respectable parties. The police say that they cannot get evidence against a place of this sort.

On March 7th, 1913, Chief Farrell said that about five weeks ago he had a talk with X82, the proprietor of this place, and told him of the use made of his saloon by prostitutes and others. X82 denied any knowledge of such conditions and said he did not believe it was so. The Chief told him he knew for a fact that it was so. X82 asked what could be done to stop it and the Chief told him to take the doors off the rooms. This the Chief said was done and he believed that the place had been all right since.

About a week later our investigators again entered this cafe and found that it was true that the doors had been taken off. In their place, however, green curtains were hung, coming right down to the floor and resembling the red curtains on the 2nd floor. These curtains were all drawn tight and the rooms occupied. Our investigators entered this cafe two or three evenings in succession, and aside from the change to the green curtains the general conduct of the place appeared to be about the same as before.

THE AZ83 RESTAURANT.

Booths similar to those in BY81's Cafe are also to be found in the AZ83 restaurant CXY84 Street, except that the sides of the booths are of board. Couples of the roughest sort have been seen going into these booths. Prostitutes frequent the place. The waiter is a pimp whose girl was at that time working for him in Bridgeport because business was so poor in Hartford.

THE BX85 CAFE.

The BX85 Cafe on XY86 Street is another meeting and soliciting place much like CX79's. Different investigators in our employ have at various times taken prostitutes from the

streets there and, when going in alone, have been solicited by prostitutes coming in there for that purpose. The only suggestion of stalls there are some high backed benches facing the bowling alleys. Many of the girls who frequent this place are the same ones that are found almost nightly at CX79's and many "Are hustlers from XY87 Street. They work among the 'ginnies' and don't care what chances they take." The police are baffled in their efforts to detect loitering in this cafe by the screens which the law allows.

CY88's CAFE.

We have many reports from several investigators as to specific incidents showing this place as of the same general category as the other disorderly saloons above mentioned. The same prostitutes are seen here, the same types and the same individuals. Our investigators have seen the women solicit and have themselves been solicited while there. The waiter was a general information bureau as to personalities and places in the underworld of Hartford. One of our women investigators, pretending to be a prostitute, was offered all possible aid by this man in getting started in the business. The place is dirty and is patronized by some who are apparently legitimate customers.

THE BZ89 RESTAURANT.

Our information in regard to this place, as in the case of all the other places above mentioned, goes back of the time that the regular houses of prostitution were closed, and shows it to have been of the same character for a long time. It is patronized by cheap theatrical people and prostitutes come here to meet the actors. Many prostitutes take their meals here and it is said to be a regular "hang out" for pimps. Many respectable people also patronize this place. Several unmarried couples live in the rooms overhead and these rooms are available for assignation purposes. One of our investigators was solicited in the restaurant by a young girl. She said "'You won't have to register; I'll go up first and wait for you at the head of the stairs.'" She went up stairs to Z90's Hotel. I followed and found her waiting; I gave her the three dollars; she went to the Hotel office

situated in another hall; returned in a few minutes with a key and opened room number 6; I marked the room for identification, made an excuse and left."

Z90, sister-in-law of the proprietor, is well aware of the class of girls who patronize the place. She has charge of the waitresses. X91, the housekeeper, meets men for purposes of prostitution. Many of the waitresses were prostitutes on the side. They are, however, frequently changing their place of work and what was true last winter is not necessarily so three months later.

In addition to the above places we may mention certain saloons on the East Side frequented by tough and violent characters and by prostitutes.

HOTEL ZX92.

The Hotel ZX92 has had for a long time the reputation of being used as an assignation house. It also has private drinking rooms on the second floor apparently in part made over from what were formerly bedrooms. The ladies' entrance on XY93 Street is the one most used for access to these rooms, but the front entrance is also available. The waiter at BY81's said "The ZX92 is the safest place to go in town; you can go there any time." Many of the prostitutes of the city have told our investigators that they take their men to the ZX92. One said, "The best place to go is the ZX92; the fellow that runs it stands in with the cops." A man told another of our investigators that he had used the ZX92 for immoral purposes. Girls from CX79's have been seen to take men there. One of our investigators took a well known prostitute to these drinking rooms. Registration is not requested for the use of these rooms, although they are used for immoral purposes in the same way that the private dining rooms of BY81's Cafe are used. The particular room assigned on this occasion was a small, square room furnished with a plain table and four chairs. The waiter never came until summoned. The waiters in all these places can of course be influenced by tips and bribes. On Feb. 8th one of our investigators was warned that the conditions had become more strict at this resort and that the help no longer dared to allow the liberties that were formerly prevalent. Two days later two of

our investigators, a man and a woman, went to this place at 10:35 p.m. They entered the XY93 Street door, passed up a flight of stairs and were ushered into room number X94. Here there were four chairs, a sort of sideboard, and a table about four feet square. A six foot partition separated this room from another, two rooms having apparently been made from what was originally but one. The conversation of the man and woman in the next compartment or room could be distinctly understood and made it plain that they were using that room for immoral purposes. Our investigators ordered eatables and drinks and then attempted to see whether a genuine bedroom could be obtained without going down stairs to register, as had been reported possible in the past. This was found impossible but it was carefully explained to the clerk by the male detective that the woman with him was not his wife and that they wished the room for but a short time. The clerk understood and assigned to them room number X93. The charge was \$1.50.

YB96 HOTEL, AXY84 STREET.

YB96 Hotel, AXY84 Street, does a legitimate hotel business, but is also largely used as a meeting place by men and women for purposes of prostitution, and quite considerably as a house of assignation. Unescorted women may frequently be found in the drinking and lunch room opening on XY97 Street.

One of our investigators found a girl standing on the landing of the stairs waiting for her man to register; and in answer to our investigator's question as to whether the hotel could be used for immoral purposes she said, "It is all right to take a fellow to a room here. You can get a decent room for two bucks. Tell the fellow to be wise; say he has so much, and they will let you have it for that. They will soak you if they can." Some of the bolder girls go right upstairs in company with the man; but as a rule the girl goes upstairs by herself and the man joins her after registering. Some of the same women have been seen here who frequented CX79.

Another investigator took B98, a well known street prostitute, to this hotel at 12 p.m. He registered for himself alone, but the clerk insisted that he add the words "and wife"; although the clerk well knew that the woman was a prostitute. A room

was assigned to them; he escorted the woman to the room, made an excuse, and left her. He reached the main office and while sitting there saw another man apparently making the same arrangement with the clerk that he had made. In several instances women known to our investigators as prostitutes have told of taking men to this hotel.

On February 6th, 1913, another of our investigators saw three "couples" register and assigned to rooms. All the girls were left in the hallway leading past the office to the elevator while the men alone registered. The clerk prefers not to see the women because he can then claim that he was imposed upon;—"Never saw the woman, etc." This investigator asked the clerk to recommend "some good place." The clerk suggested "Get something on the street and bring it to your room." Men stopping regularly at this hotel can take women to their rooms by the payment of a dollar to the clerk; and the clerk will not ask them to register "and wife." This investigator was solicited by a girl at BX85 Cafe. He took her to YB96 hotel and was assigned a room by the clerk.

On a rainy afternoon one of our investigators entered the wine room of this hotel, where a veritable "carnival of fornication" was in progress. Eight men and five women were smoking, singing and indulging in very suggestive dances. Couples frequently left the room and returned in about half an hour, and the remarks made upon such occasions plainly indicated the nature of their occupation while they were away. None of the girls in this room were over twenty. The "fun" continued from 4 until 11 p. m.

We have details concerning other places more or less like these above described, but we are content to merely summarize them under the various headings in the following pages.

The Commission has investigated five hotels, in order to ascertain the attitude of those in charge toward the use of their rooms for assignation purposes. In every instance, with one exception, our detective, in taking a girl to these hotels, was obliged to register as man and wife. This, however, was only a formality, as in every case it was explained to the clerk that the woman with the detective was not his wife, and that the room was only wanted for a short time. Nevertheless the clerk would insist that they register as man and wife, and would

assign a room under these conditions. The hotels where this was done were the ZX92 (detailed description in another place); the XA99, AXY100 street; XB101; BX89 on XY102 street.

The one exception above noted was YB96 Hotel, AXY84 street. Here it was found that if a man was a regular guest of the hotel he was accorded the privilege of taking a girl to his room for the night by paying one dollar extra at the desk.

The hotels investigated were those having a general reputation as assignation houses; and there are, without doubt, many others where similar conditions prevail.

HOUSES OF PROSTITUTION SINCE THE ORDER OF CLOSURE.

Since the regular tolerated houses were closed attempts have been made in several instances to open small houses clandestinely.

One such place (it could hardly be called a house of prostitution) was started over the saloon at the corner of XY103 and XY104 streets. The Commission notified the police of the fact and the police immediately took steps to close it.

On November 29th, 1912, an agent of the Commission was in a house run by AB105, alias CA106, at AXY107 street, and obtained conclusive evidence that she was keeping one girl at that place for purposes of prostitution. This was not reported to the police by the Commission, but it was discovered and raided by the police independently on January 25th, 1913. This woman was sentenced to thirty days in jail for running a disorderly house and this sentence was sustained on appeal to the higher court.

The place kept by AB108 at AXY100 street was visited by an agent of the Commission, who talked with AB108 and a girl who was undoubtedly kept there for purposes of prostitution. We were not able, however, to obtain conclusive evidence of this fact. AB108 is generally reputed to perform abortions with considerable frequency, in addition to running a disorderly house on a small scale.

An Italian named A109 started a house at AXY110 street with two Italian women who had apparently been imported for

immoral purposes. He was arrested and the evidence in court indicated that the place had been running about two weeks when raided. It was said that as many as sixty frequenters had been counted going into this place in one day. A109 had a considerable amount of money on his person when arrested, and the girls almost nothing. He was fined \$50 by Judge Steele. It is said that he soon after left the city and went to Boston, taking the two girls with him.

On March 21st the police raided an alleged house of ill-fame in the rear of AXY111 street. The next morning XC112, the proprietress, was sentenced in the police court to sixty days in jail. XC113, an inmate with a record, was sent to jail for thirty days, while YC114, the other woman who was in the house, was allowed to go. Two frequenters were fined \$7. each.

The police have made other raids recently. The proprietor of one house, ZA115, was sentenced to jail for six months; and the proprietor of another, XY116, with a record of a similar offence in New York, received a jail sentence of ninety days. Two inmates of the latter place were sent to jail for ten days each; and four male frequenters were each fined \$7. and costs.

We have some evidence, though not of a conclusive character, that two other houses are being run clandestinely at the present time.*

The police have made laudable efforts to clean up some of the worst assignation rooming houses; and the Commission has evidence that some of these places have not been able to resume their former practices owing to fear of the police.

All public bawdy houses have been closed in Hartford since December 29th, 1911. This has not been a theoretical closure but a real one, and considering the length of time involved is unique in Hartford, and, we believe, almost so for any American city. Of the eleven houses closed on the above date three have been torn down and are represented today by vacant lots; five have been vacated by their former tenants and are now inhabited by law-abiding people; three are still held by their former tenants, the house furnishings are still in place and the Commission has ample evidence to support the view that they are still

* Since the above was written one of these places was raided by the police.

confidently awaiting the ebb tide in public pressure to open up again and go on as before. The following remarks by the underworld bear this out.

January 6th, 1913. XI18, the beer man, "CB78, who used to keep AXY84 street, would like to open again, but the "cops" watch him close; he cannot."

January 6th, 1913. A man at Y119 saloon, AXY20 street, "This thing won't be tied up forever; it will be wide open again before long."

January 8th, 1913. Waiter at BY81 Cafe, "The judge is elected by the legislature. Before a year this town will be wide open again. They will all flock back as soon as the new judge is elected."

January 10th, 1913. Street prostitute at CX79 Restaurant, "If things don't open up next month my friend and I are going to Pittsburg."

January 13th, 1913. An investigator heard from prostitutes in AI21 Theatre that "CX122, (former keeper of a house of prostitution here), is coming back if things settle."

January 15th, 1913. BA117, former keeper of house of assignation, "Wait till things get settled after this coming election. They see they have made a mistake, and it will be changed. They are losing money. My friend says they are going to oust the judge and the prosecuting attorney. Things will hum again. I hear these things from the boys. Everybody is anxious to have the sports back again. They didn't bother anyone but gave money to the town."

Later reports seem to indicate a less hopeful spirit on the part of the underworld.

RAILROAD STATION.

The railroad station is used to a very large degree as a meeting place and a place of solicitation by women of the street. Nine prostitutes were on one occasion seen there at one time; on another occasion five; on February 1st, three; eleven were counted between 9 and 9:30 p.m. on February 11th, the week of the Automobile Show.

The station seems to be a rendezvous for girls not depending

solely on prostitution for a living. The older women are on the lookout for drunks.

II. EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.

We have investigated seven employment agencies to see whether or not they were willing to furnish a girl for service in a house of ill-fame. It was plainly stated to these agencies what the character of the house was in which the girl was wanted, and in some instances it was even hinted that the girl might earn money on the side as a prostitute herself. Three employment agencies were perfectly willing to furnish a girl under these circumstances. The others refused, some of them indignantly.

III. PIMPS IN HARTFORD.

Pimps, the male companions of prostitutes, who live on their wages and pretend to be in love with them, are almost universally associated with the prostitutes in the houses. Such association is also exceedingly common with prostitutes of the street walking type. Our investigators, who were in CX79's nearly every night for some time, reported that the prostitutes there would frequently come in accompanied by their pimps, that the pimps would sit down at a table, open a newspaper and begin to read, or would converse among themselves, while the women who had come in with them would immediately start soliciting among the other customers. The BZ89 restaurant on XY131 street seems to be the headquarters for the pimps in Hartford; messages are frequently left there by the prostitutes for their pimps in the event of the prostitute having an engagement for the night with another man.

IV. MALE PROSTITUTES.

Sexual perversion of various sorts is practiced extensively in Hartford. There are various reasons for this, but in the worst forms the careful observer must come to the conclusion that it represents some form of mental aberration. The most disgusting and repulsive form in which it manifests itself is in the male prostitute, who not only takes the place of the prostitute in fact, but even impersonates or resembles a female in his

mannerisms, voice and conversation. Their practices are too revolting for discussion in this report.

We have the names, and in some instances the life histories of men practicing sexual perversion among themselves. Four of these are men of wealth and social standing.

V. VENEREAL DISEASE IN HARTFORD.

There are no authentic figures as to the amount of venereal disease existing in the city of Hartford. In general, statements in regard to this must be guess-work, and one man's guess is probably about as good as another's. The only reliable figures on venereal morbidity are those of the army and navy, but it is not legitimate to draw conclusions from these as to the prevalence of venereal disease in civil life. Many of the statements commonly made are manifestly exaggerated, although there is no doubt that conditions are bad. Physicians generally are well acquainted with men and women suffering throughout their lives because of the indiscretions of youth. Sometimes the fault is their own; often it is that of another.

Venereal diseases are rarely spoken of between doctors and laymen by their right names except in their early stages. No good could possibly come by telling a wife that her enfeebled health since marriage was due to a venereal disease contracted by her husband perhaps years prior to their marriage, or that the same is the probable reason that their marriage has been childless. There is trouble enough in the world without adding more. Many of these conditions hide behind a name that describes the pathology but not the source, and such a name is usually satisfactory to the layman. These diseases are frequently at the bottom of bladder troubles, diseases peculiar to the female, serious nervous disorders, paralyses and insanities, especially those of middle life. They are frequently the prime cause of premature arterio-sclerosis and the heart affections incident to analagous changes. Many eye affections are due to them, and occasionally total deafness. They are the most common cause of still birth where such occurs near full term.

The following tables are made up from the catalogue of the Hartford Hospital for the year ending September 30, 1911; and they represent nothing more than a reasonable estimate.

ESTIMATE OF VENEREAL DISEASE ADMITTED TO
THE HARTFORD HOSPITAL FOR THE YEAR
ENDING SEPT. 30, 1911.

Diseases admitted, capable of a venereal explanation	Male	Female	Number estimated as actually having a venereal origin
Angina pectoris . . .	2		
Arterio-sclerosis . . .	10	3	2
Endarteritis obliterans . . .		1	
Acute endocarditis . . .	1	3	1
Chronic endocarditis . . .	42	28	10
Mitral stenosis . . .	2	1	
Myocarditis, acute . . .	1	2	
Myocarditis, chronic . . .	7	7	
Pericarditis . . .		1	
Arthritis hypertrophic . . .	4	1	1
Rheumatism . . .	6	3	1
Infectious arthritis . . .	9	5	
Meningitis, cerebro-spinal . . .	3	1	
Pyæmia . . .	1		
Rheumatic fever, acute . . .	11	5	
Rheumatism gonorrhoeal . . .	4	2	6
Septicaemia . . .	6	2	.5
Syphilis . . .	33	14	47
Nephritis, acute . . .	3	8	1
Nephritis, chronic . . .	13	8	1
Pyelitis . . .		1	
Cerebral hemorrhage . . .	10	8	2
Epilepsy . . .	18	5	15
Hemiplegia . . .	5	3	1
Locomotor ataxia . . .	5		4.5
Neurasthenia . . .	24	34	5
Paraplegia . . .	1	1	1
Progressive muscular dystrophy	1		
Secondary spastic paralysis . . .	1		
Tic douloureux . . .	3	4	1
Abortion, incomplete . . .		12	2
Abortion, threatened . . .		1	
Miscarriage . . .		37	9
Puerperal septicaemia . . .		4	1

Tumor of brain	I	2	.5
Iritis	3	2	I
Keratitis	8	6	7
Ophthalmia, gonorrhoeal	4	I	5
Optic atrophy	2		I
Tinnitus aurium	I		
Ulcer of septum	I		
Spondilitis deformans	2		
Abdominal adhesions	5	7	2
Peritonitis, general	II	3	I
Cellulitis, pelvic		17	9.3
Endometritis		68	22
Ovary, cyst of		20	I.5
Salpingitis		34	24
Ulcer of the vulva		3	2
Vaginismus		I	
Vaginitis, gonorrhoeal		4	4
Abscess of scrotum	I		
Abscess of urethra	I		I
Adenitis, inguinal	5		3
Calculus, vesicle	4		I
Chancroids	2	I	3
Cystitis, acute	3	4	3
Cystitis, chronic	3	4	2
Epididymitis	16		14
Gonorrhoea, acute	15	4	19
Gonorrhoea, chronic	17	I	18
Haematuria	2		
Hydrocele	2		
Orchitis	9		7
Stricture of urethra	5		4.5
Urine, retention of	6		5
Periostitis of tibia	4		I
Varicose ulcer of leg	7	4	I
Conjunctivitis gonorrhoeal		I	I
Keratitis	2		2
Laryngitis, syphilitic		I	I
Optic neuritis	2		I
Pharyngitis, syphilitic	I	I	2
	383	394	286.8

NOTES:

Total admissions to hospital for year . . . 5,195

Total possible of a venereal interpretation . . . 777

Total estimated as actually of venereal origin 286.8
which is 5.5% of total admissions.

All are separate patients.

Classification is that of the catalogue.

Estimate of venereal origin is an average of estimates separately made by one pathologist, one gynaecologist and one surgeon.

ESTIMATE OF VENEREAL DISEASE AS A CAUSE OF OPERATIONS AT THE HARTFORD HOSPITAL FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, 1911.

Operations possibly necessitated by venereal disease	Male	Female	Number estimated as actually having a venereal origin
Enucleation of eye . . .	8	3	1
Injection of 5th nerve . . .	9	3	1
Tic Douloureux . . .	1		
Trephination . . .	4	2	1
Cystotomy, suprapubic . . .	3		
Drainage of abdominal cavity . . .	7	5"	1'
Laparotomy, exploratory . . .	25	21"	1'
Amputation of cervix . . .		18	2
Breaking up abdominal adhesions		1"	
Cauterization of cervix . . .		2	1
Coeliotomy for abdominal preg- nancy . . .		4"	1'
Curettage . . .		182	55
Excision of broad ligament cyst		2"	
Excision of ovarian cyst . . .		3"	
Hysterectomy . . .		25"	.5
Oophorectomy . . .		32"	
Salpingectomy, double . . .		13"	10'
Salpingectomy, single . . .		26"	20'
Circumcision . . .	17		1
Epidydimectomy . . .	2		
Incision of buboes . . .	4		4

Orchidectomy . . .	8		1
Hydrocele, radical cure . .	12		3
Suprapubic lithotomy . .	1		
Urethrotomy, external . .	9		8
Urethrotomy, internal . .	1		1
Cystoscopy	26	14	10
Curettage of tibia	17	1	1
Salvarsan, intravenous injection	15	7	22
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	169	364	145.5

Total number of operations for the year . . . 2,447
Total number capable of a venereal explanation . . . 533
Number estimated as actually due to a venereal cause . . . 145.5
Which is 5.9% of total number of operations.

Total number of operations on females for year . . . 1,372
Abdominal operations on females 354
Abdominal operations on females capable of a
venereal explanation marked (") in table . . . 132
Number estimated to have actually been of venereal
origin marked (') in table 33

Which is 9.3% of the abdominal operations on women.

Independent of any knowledge of the results obtained in the above tables, the City Physician, by request, made an attempt to ascertain the degree to which venereal disease figured as a cause of sickness in The City Hospital. He carefully reviewed the histories of 1000 consecutive patients in that institution and reported that in his opinion the illness of 50 or exactly 5% could fairly be attributed to these sources. This corresponds in a remarkable way with the estimate of 5.5% obtained from the other table. We are justified in saying therefore that 5% of serious illness in this city may fairly be attributed to venereal disease as its ultimate cause.

In March, 1892 gonorrhoeal inflammation of the eye in infants was made a disease reportable by midwives in this city. Physicians have been requested to report these diseases since 1909. Two cases of this disease were reported in 1905; two in 1910, one in 1912—five altogether. "In Connecticut, since 1893, about 25% of the children who have come under the direction of the

Board of Education of the Blind have lost their sight from ophthalmia neonatorum.” According to the best authorities, at least two-thirds of these cases should be attributed to gonorrhoea of the parent. It is estimated that about 7% of all blindness is due to venereal disease.*

Many have favored a law that would compel the use of nitrate of silver in the eyes of all new born babies. We recognize the efficiency of this treatment to prevent gonorrhoeal ophthalmia, but do not advocate legislation making it compulsory.

VI. ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS.

The following data in regard to illegitimate births in Hartford may be of interest, although, in our opinion, they are not sufficiently extensive to warrant any conclusions in regard to increase or decrease of immorality in this city.

Year.	Illegitimate Births.					
1903	41
1904	27
1905	45
1906	48
1907	42
1908	38
1909	46
1910	47
1911	66
1912	59

Total in ten years 459.

In 280 of these cases the mothers were of native birth; in 174 of foreign birth, and in 5 of unknown birth.

* From data furnished by the State Board of Education of the Blind.

CHAPTER V.

STUDY OF HARTFORD PROSTITUTES.

For the purpose of obtaining the personal histories of prostitutes now engaged in practicing their profession in Hartford, the Commission obtained the services of a trained woman investigator. This investigator came with high recommendations from her former employers. She has been engaged in this and similar occupations for eleven years. Part of this time she was following the white slave cases for the United States Government, part of the time working for a well known reformatory for women, and a large part of the time studying vice conditions in various cities of the United States for vice commissions and allied bodies. Her work had formerly taken her into several Connecticut cities, including Hartford, so that she was not an entire stranger to local conditions. This woman has a large acquaintance with prostitutes and those engaged in the business of prostitution throughout the country. In her work in Hartford and in other places she was checked up from time to time by independent investigators, unknown of course to her. She has never been found wanting in honesty, accuracy or other requirements for her work; so that on the whole the Commission feels warranted in saying that her statements can be faithfully relied upon. For many weeks this woman lived on terms of intimacy and equality with those among whom she was working. She was never suspected by them of being an investigator so far as we can find out. She was regarded as a friend and one of their own kind. For this reason we feel that the histories present accurate, first-hand information on the subject in hand.

During the time this investigator was employed by this Commission she obtained the histories of sixty-six women who were earning their living in whole or in part by practicing prostitution in Hartford. These histories were all reported in writing and sworn to by the investigator.

We were unable to form any accurate estimate as to the number of prostitutes actually practicing their trade in Hartford.

Our estimate would be about 200. On this basis it would seem that our knowledge of the histories of sixty-six would present a fair means of judging as to the entire number.

I. ANALYSIS OF STATISTICAL DATA.

Birthplace. Twenty-four were born in Hartford; sixteen were born in Connecticut outside of Hartford. Four of this sixteen were born in the larger cities. Nineteen were born in this country outside of Connecticut. In all, therefore, fifty-nine were born in this country. Twelve of these were born in Massachusetts, five in New York, one each in Pennsylvania and Vermont. Two each were born in Germany, Italy and Russia, and one in Scotland.

From the above it will appear that 89% of those investigated were born in this country; 60% in Connecticut; and 36% in Hartford.

The striking features of these data are the small percentage of foreign born girls; the large percentage of Connecticut and Hartford born girls; and the large number of girls coming from Massachusetts as compared with those coming from New York.

Age. Naturally some question will be raised as to the accuracy of figures in regard to age. They are given exactly as stated by the girls themselves in the following table. Whenever our investigator considered that the appearance of the girl belied her statement as to her age, that fact was noted. In two cases the girl appeared to be younger than the age given; in one case she appeared to be older.

Age	No.	Age	No.
19 . .	1	28 . .	4
20 . .	5	29 . .	4
21 . .	2	30 . .	2
22 . .	7	34 . .	1
23 . .	12	35 . .	1
24 . .	13	36 . .	1
25 . .	3	45 . .	1
26 . .	6	50 . .	1
27 . .	2		

61 out of 66 are 30 years of age or less.

43 out of 66 are 25 years of age or less.

The nineteen year old prostitute has been a prostitute ever since she was fifteen years of age.

How Long a Prostitute? Six girls refused to give information as to how long they had been prostitutes. Twelve girls did not state definitely but made use of some expression that signified that they had been in the business for a long time. The following table gives the data as to the remaining forty-eight.

1 year . . .	2	6 years . . .	7
2 years . . .	7	7 years . . .	2
3 years . . .	7	8 years . . .	3
4 years . . .	12	9 years . . .	1
5 years . . .	6	10 years . . .	1

The table shows only two girls who became prostitutes since the houses were ordered closed in Hartford. One of these girls is now twenty years of age. She was seduced at school by the janitor. She had served eighteen months at Wethersfield and claims to have learned enough in prison to "fill a book." The other girl is twenty-four years old. She came to Hartford less than a year ago to escape from her husband, who was brutally forcing her to unnatural practices to avoid children. She came here with a man who had been her lover before she was married. He drank and beat her. She finally drifted onto the streets because, she says, she was afraid to go anywhere else.

It has been stated that on the average a woman cannot live the life of a prostitute for more than five to seven years. It is to be noted that out of the forty-eight concerning whom we have exact information only five have been in the business more than seven years. Thirty-four out of the forty-eight, or about 71%, have been in the life for five years or less.

How Long a Prostitute in Hartford? Our investigator was unable to obtain any information on this subject from five out of the sixty-six. Five other girls gave no exact information, but it is known that they have been practicing prostitution in Hartford for some time. One girl who had been a prostitute for four years came to Hartford and married six months ago. Since

her marriage she has been straight. The following table gives the data as to the remaining fifty-five.

3 weeks . . .	1	3 years . . .	7
3 months . . .	1	4 years . . .	10
6 months . . .	1	5 years . . .	9
9 months . . .	1	6 years . . .	5
1 year . . .	3	7 years . . .	1
1½ years . . .	1	8 years . . .	2
2 years . . .	13		

Taking into consideration the times when these histories were obtained it appears that only seven out of the sixty-six began practicing prostitution in Hartford after the houses of prostitution were closed. An examination of these seven cases shows that the closing of the houses in no way served as a contributing factor. The girl who is listed as having practiced prostitution in Hartford only three weeks has been a prostitute for several years. She was born and lived in a neighboring town. Her pimp persuaded her to come to Hartford some time ago to solicit, eventually bringing her here to live. The girl who has been here three months was a member of a vaudeville team, and is subject to periodical attacks of drinking. In one of these she abandoned her team, but as soon as she straightens out expects to leave Hartford to start her regular work once more. The next girl has also been a prostitute for several years. She came to town with a man who had been a friend of a girl with whom she had lived. The history of the girl who came to Hartford nine months ago has already been given. She ran away from a brutal husband with a man who had been her lover before she married. The histories of the three girls who have been here one year are as follows. One girl ran away from home because her stepmother beat her. Her mother died when she was small. Her father died after contracting a second marriage. After he died things grew steadily worse so that she could stand it no longer. She has been a prostitute three years, although she is now only twenty-four years old. A second girl has been a prostitute for a long time, and appears to have just drifted here. She had been engaged to a man for ten years, who kept putting her off on the plea that he could not marry while his mother lived. When the mother died the girl found out that the man

had been married for four years. Feeling desperate she began drinking, and finally became a prostitute. The history of the third girl has already been referred to. She is the one who served her time in Wethersfield, and was brought to Hartford by her pimp.

These sixty-six girls are of all kinds: some solicited on the streets, some in cafes; some were very common, others more exclusive; yet only seven started their trade in Hartford after the closing of the houses; and the coming of these seven appeared to be in no way connected with the closing of the houses. It is to be especially noted that no Hartford born girl is among the seven.

How Long in Hartford? Twenty-four of the sixty-six were born in Hartford. As to four no exact information was obtainable but they are known to have lived here for a long time. The data as to the length of residence in Hartford of the remaining thirty-eight are as follows:

3 weeks	1	3 years	5
3 months	1	4 years	3
6 months	1	5 years	5
9 months	1	6 years	2
1 year	3	7 years	1
1½ years	1	9 years	1
2 years	6	10 years	2

Three girls, living in neighboring towns, came to Hartford frequently to solicit, and have been doing so for some time. Two girls, now living in Hartford and practicing prostitution here, formerly came to Hartford frequently to solicit.

Cause of Coming to Hartford. Again one must deduct the twenty-four who were born here. The statistics as to the remaining forty-two are as follows: Nine came to work; eight were brought here by men; seven simply say that they came here to live; six were brought here by their husbands; three came with their family; three living in neighboring towns came here to solicit; two ran away from home; one came here to be kept; one left her vaudeville team to go on a spree; one came with a girl friend; one ran away from a cruel husband.

Where They Solicit. One of the questions to which our investigator endeavored to obtain answers was as to where the

various girls solicited. As to fifteen she was unable to obtain any information. The others mentioned one, two and three places. Some of the girls unquestionably solicit in places other than those mentioned, but on the whole the data give some idea of how this business is conducted.

- 24 on Main street.
- 9 at BX85 Restaurant.
- 8 at XA132 Theatre.
- 8 on Asylum street.
- 7 on Front street
- 5 at Railroad Station.
- 5 at CY88's Restaurant.
- 4 at CX79's Cafe.
- 3 on Market street.
- 3 on State street.
- 2 at Automobile Show.
- 2 at BZ89 Restaurant.
- 2 at C133 Cafe.
- 2 at B134 Theatre.
- 1 at X135 Theatre.
- 1 at Y136's Theatre.
- 1 at Z137's Restaurant.

From evidence other than the above statements we judge that solicitation is most prevalent at three theatres and two restaurants.

Where They Take Patrons. The comment made under the title "Where They Solicit" applies equally here. We have no information from thirty-four girls. The following table gives the data as to the remainder:

- 11 ZX92 Hotel.
- 8 ZB137 Hotel.
- 7 Own room.
- 5 YB96's Hotel.
- 2 BY81's Cafe.
- 2 Friend's room.
- 1 Room over BX85 Restaurant.
- 1 House on XY138 street.
- 1 House on XY139 street.
- 1 AZ140 Hotel.
- 1 BY141 Hotel (New Britain).

Our other investigations show the worst conditions to exist, apart from rooming houses, in three hotels and one café.

Committed to Institution. Fifty-one girls claim that they have never been committed to an institution of any kind. The statement of one of these is doubted by our investigator. Two gave no information; one was arrested in Springfield for theft which she avers she did not commit; one admitted she had been arrested twice in New York city for soliciting on the street; one was fined for drunkenness; one says that she was arrested three times in New Haven; one says that she was arrested once for being drunk; one served eighteen months in Wethersfield; one states that her mother put her away until she was twenty-one years old; one went to a sanatorium to be treated for drinking; the mother of another put her away when she was sixteen years old; one girl stated that her mother tried to put her away but failed; another was put by her mother in a rescue home in New York when she was thirteen years old, and she stayed in the home for two years; one girl admits having been arrested for fighting with a girl; another girl states that she was arrested and fined for soliciting in Hartford.

The noteworthy thing about these figures is that fifty out of sixty-six girls have practiced prostitution for the various number of years shown without having come into contact with the law during all that time.

Education. Thirty-five can read and write; twenty-two can read and write a little; two say that they can read and can write a little; two that they can write and can read a little; one says she can read a very little "American" and can write a little; one that she can read and write no English; one that she can read and write Italian but not English; one that she cannot read but can write a little; one that she can neither read or write.

Age of First Sexual Offence. Our investigator was unable to obtain information from fourteen girls, but we know that one of these was an inmate of a regular house of prostitution at sixteen years of age; fourteen girls made some such remark as "While young", "When I was a kid", "At School", etc. As to one of these, we know from other facts that her first sexual offence was before she was sixteen years of age; as to another we know that she was an inmate of A69's house at sixteen years

of age. The following table gives the data as to the remaining thirty-eight girls :

At 13 years	.	1	At 21 years	.	2
14 years	.	3	22 years	.	5
15 years	.	3	23 years	.	2
16 years	.	5	24 years	.	3
17 years	.	1	25 years	.	1
18 years	.	6	26 years	.	2
20 years	.	2	27 years	.	2

If we add the three girls who were prostitutes at the age of sixteen on the assumption that their first offence was committed at an earlier age, and the one girl included in the "When young" class, who we know fell before sixteen years of age, ten girls committed their first sexual offence before they were sixteen years of age, which is the age of consent in this state. In other words, under our Connecticut laws they were raped. If we add the twelve not yet counted in who said, "When young" or its equivalent, as having committed their first sexual offence before eighteen years of age, which seems a wholly reasonable thing to do, we find that twenty-eight committed their first sexual offence before they were eighteen years of age; while thirty-six out of the fifty-three concerning whom we have some information committed their first sexual offence before they were twenty-one years of age. The general tendency of modern legislation is to place the age of consent at eighteen years. On this basis fifty-three per cent. of the Hartford prostitutes concerning whom we have information on this point would have been regarded as being raped at the commission of their first sexual offence.

Some of the girls who gave a comparatively high age as the time of the commission of their first sexual offence were girls who had been married, but for whom, for various reasons, marriage had been a failure.

Partner of First Sexual Offence. Concerning six girls we have no information. The table gives the data as to sixty:

Acquaintance,	.	.	.	.	.	.	25
Stranger	.	.	.	.	.	.	22
Sweetheart	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
Cousin	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
Brother	.	.	.	.	.	.	1

Uncle	1
Relative by marriage	1
Friend of family	1
Employer	2

These figures, taken into consideration with those relating to the age at which the first offence was committed, show in a startling way the necessity for additional protection for young girls. When twenty-two young girls commit their first sexual offence with a stranger it must show woeful ignorance and lack of protection by family and law.

Age When First Prostituted Herself for Pay. From nine girls our investigator was unable to obtain any information; nine other girls answered "When young" or its equivalent; one girl said she did not prostitute herself for pay until she was twenty-one years of age, but that she was an inmate of A69's house at sixteen. Taken into consideration with other facts we assume that her reply indicates that she did not receive pay herself until twenty-one, but of course she was a prostitute for pay at sixteen years of age, and is so treated. The table as to the forty-eight girls concerning whom we have exact knowledge is as follows:

15 years	1	22 years	4
16 years	11	23 years	3
17 years	2	24 years	3
18 years	8	25 years	1
19 years	3	26 years	3
20 years	1	27 years	2
21 years	5	32 years	1

From this table it appears that twenty-two girls became prostitutes at eighteen years of age or younger. To these we may safely add the nine who answered "When young" or its equivalent. This makes thirty-one out of fifty-seven, or practically 55%, who became prostitutes at eighteen years of age or younger. Only seven, or about 12%, became prostitutes after reaching twenty-five years of age.

Has She Practiced Prostitution Continuously Since? We have no information as to two girls; sixty-three out of sixty-four have practiced prostitution continuously ever since they first prostituted themselves for pay. The sixty-fourth girl came to Hartford and married six months ago. Since her marriage she

has been straight, but she still associates with the prostitute class and states that she will return to the life as soon as her husband fails to provide for her.

Perversion. Fourteen of the sixty-six girls admit that they use perverted sexual practices with men for pay.

Weekly Earnings from Prostitution. Our investigator endeavored to ascertain the highest and lowest amounts obtained weekly by the sixty-six prostitutes. Eight of these girls made some comment suggesting that business was bad. These comments were gratuitously made, and have considerable importance as bearing upon the effect of the closing of the houses. No girl suggested that her earnings had been increased. Five refused any information at all. One other girl gave no highest figure. The following table gives the data as to the remaining sixty:

\$10—\$20	9	\$50—\$60	4
\$20—\$30	14	\$60—\$70	2
\$30—\$40	22	\$70—\$80	1
\$40—\$50	7	\$100—	1

It must be borne in mind that the table is just what it purports to be—a table showing the highest weekly earnings, not average, not usual or ordinary, but highest. Fifteen girls mentioned the specific sum of \$35.

Lowest Weekly. Ten girls state amounts from nothing to \$10; eleven girls from \$10 to \$20; and nine from \$20 to \$30; no lowest figure was given by the other girls.

These data showing weekly earnings from nothing to \$100 have their chief value when compared with the tables showing what these same girls, or rather some of them, earned before becoming prostitutes. It shows the temptation to which the girls, uneducated, unprotected, ill-advised and ignorant, are subjected.

Was Prostitution Her Only Means of Support? Twenty-four girls stated that prostitution was their only means of support; thirty-four said that it was not. Of these some work and some are married and receive support from their husbands; some are married and employed; five state that they have worked; one works intermittently; one tried house work for two weeks; one is married and keeping straight.

Means of Support Other Than Prostitution. No information was obtained as to one girl who works; twenty-four give

no means of support other than prostitution. The statistics as to the other forty-one are as follows:

Department Store	10
Living with husband	5
Stenographers	3
Ladies' Furnishing Store	2
Laundry	2
Factory	2
Live with family	2
Chambermaid (Hotel)	2
Receives money from husband	2
Domestic	1
Market	1
Vaudeville	1
Bakery	1
Waitress (Restaurant)	1
Married and salesgirl	1
Domestic and receives money from husband	1
Lives with husband intermittently	1
Kitchen work intermittently	1
Domestic, two weeks	1
Married and straight (has been a chorus girl)	1

Weekly Earnings From Sources Other Than Prostitution.

Twenty-seven of these sixty-six girls, or 41%, work more or less steadily. One earns \$30 per month and board; another earns \$12 per month and board. The weekly earnings of the other twenty-five are as follows:

\$50 *	1	\$ 8	5
\$18	1	\$ 7.50	1
\$12	2	\$ 7	3
\$10	4	\$ 6	1
\$ 9	4	\$ 4	1
\$ 8.50	2		

Has She Ever Given Any of Her Earnings from Prostitution to Any Other Person? To the above question two gave no answer; thirty-five answered "No"; five others answered "No", but our investigator doubts the truth of the answers because of what she knows of their lives and relations with men; five give

* Vaudeville actress.

from their earnings to their pimps, but it is not known whether they give all their earnings or not; eight give all their earnings to pimps; three give all of their earnings to their husbands; two, both married, help keep house with their earnings; one gives her earnings to her family; five used to give their earnings to pimps but do not now. In other words, only about 55% have continuously taken for themselves the full benefits of their earnings from prostitution.

Has She Now or Has She Had Any Children? We have no information from two; thirty-eight prostitutes have had no children; twenty-six have had thirty-nine children; twenty-four of these children are living.

What Trade or Calling Did She Follow Before Becoming a Prostitute? We have no information from ten; nine lived at home with their families and performed no outside work; twenty were married and had no gainful occupation; one was a school-girl away at school; one worked a little at everything. The following table gives the data as to the remaining twenty-five:

Salesgirl	7	Chambermaid (Hotel)	1
Stenographer	3	Laundry	1
Married and Saleswoman	2	Bookkeeper	1
Factory	2	Bakery	1
Maid	2	Waitress	1
Mill	2	Vaudeville	1
Married and Cook	1		

Weekly Earnings at Trade Before Becoming Prostitutes. We have no information from nine. The deduction for those having no gainful occupation is the same as in the preceding table. One girl earned \$30 per month and board; another \$12 per month and board; another earned \$3 per week and board. The data in regard to the remaining twenty-four are in terms of highest weekly earnings, as follows:

Highest weekly earnings

\$50	1	\$ 8	3
\$15	1	\$ 7.50	1
\$12	3	\$ 7	2
\$10	3	\$ 6	2
\$ 9	4	\$ 4.50	1
\$ 8.50	2	\$ 4	1

Where Did She Live Before Becoming a Prostitute? The data are as follows:

No information	5	Where she worked	4
With family	25	Boarded	2
With husband	21	On the road with	
Roomed	8	Vaudeville troupe	1

The fact that forty-six, or nearly 70%, were living with their families or with their husbands before becoming prostitutes is worthy of note.

Paid for Room and Board Before Becoming a Prostitute. Of those who lived out eight have given us no information; one who lived at home paid \$8.50, one \$7, and two \$5, per week respectively to their families. In two cases this constituted all their earnings. One paid \$6 and another \$5 per week for board; one paid \$5, two paid \$4, two \$3.50, and one \$2.50 for room rent. Forty-four did not have to pay for their board.

II. SPECIAL DATA FROM LIFE HISTORIES.

No. 1 is very fond of a good time; pretty but ignorant. She claims that until she was public with her favors she was "always alone". She has two friends working; they all go around together.

No. 2 was not making enough to keep herself. She was ruined after a picnic at Charter Oak Park at the old ZX92 Hotel. She thought the man would marry her. They went together for some time. Then she went on the streets. She states that she is very particular and would not meet any one under \$2 and room money. Untruthful.

No. 3 is refined looking; no one would take her for a public woman. She is fond of drink. She states, "I have a lovely boss. He often takes me out in his car. Have made many friends in this town. If a girl is careful she can make good money here. The trouble here is girls take anything."

No. 4 says, "I married a fellow in Pennsylvania. He is all right but damn slow. He doesn't know he is alive; not the right kind of a man for me. I can do just what I want. He is over to the flat now and I have been away two weeks. He would not budge outside the door, thinking I might come home any time." Our investigator substantiated this statement.

No 5 was ruined by the superintendent of the mill where she worked. He was a married man. She was on piece work. He promised her better work if she would yield. Afterwards he gave her good yarn for a while and her wages were fine. His demands came oftener. She was finally caught with him and had to leave the mill. She came to Hartford but could not find any work, so went on to the streets. She can just make a living; that's all. Lazy.

No. 6 says, "My mother died when I was small. I have a stepmother. She would beat me so badly I tired of it. My father died two years ago. Then it grew worse. I would run away; then she would follow me up. My uncle helped me to go through shorthand school. I will never go back home again." Our investigator states that this girl would have been different under other circumstances.

No. 7 is fond of whiskey. She is being kept by a hotel man. Her father was a harness maker; "I never had to work hard. I was the youngest. I would come over here every day in the summer, and often in the winter. I was ruined by; he is well known in Hartford. I met my present friend two years ago. Funny—we always went to the X143 until I left home for good, and the owner of the X143 always comes to the BA144." Very pretty; well dressed.

No. 8. "I fooled with boys around home but never got any money. A girl from Meriden put me wise to the money plan. I have quite a few regular friends. We can flirt across the street into the office and meet people that way. I have a room here and sneak many a one in." Pretty, but very low ideas.

No. 9. "A girl is a fool not to make all she can. I have made it in houses where I am employed and slip out." This girl is one of the lowest type in Hartford. Some of her history is too vile to write. In some things she is untruthful. She is fond of whiskey.

No. 10. Our investigator states that this girl is one of the toughest that she has ever met. She says a girl persuaded her to come to Hartford. She knew A69 and lived two weeks in his house. She met the man who became her pimp one night on Front and Talcott streets, when she was going into A69's house. He called her and took her to his room. He and A69 had a fight about it. This girl is very ignorant. She went wrong at fourteen years of age.

No. 11. "I want nice clothes and a good time. All the girls and fellows I know are sports. I am crazy to get to New York but I am afraid to go by myself." This girl is employed in a department store. She says she knows several girls in the store who go out soliciting. She is very pretty, foolish, and does not seem to be very bright.

No. 12. "I had it as hard as hell home. I got tired and got out. The family kept getting bigger and bigger and the old man was no good. I wanted company. The fellow who ruined me was married, so I came to work in a laundry for two months. Now I don't have to. I got regular fellows coming to see me and you can always pick up a dollar in Hartford. There are lots of strangers and men from out of town." This girl is of a very common type. She was a prostitute at 16; a hard drinker.

No. 13. First lived in New York—Hell Gate section. She was ruined by a man in the laundry where she was employed. She married an Italian barber and has been in several cities with him. He is employed at present on XY100 street. She meets men so as to help him. His family are well fixed in Italy and they are both going over this coming spring. She takes the men she meets to a friend's flat over the BX85 Restaurant. Very low type; fond of drink.

No. 14. "My husband lost his position; we were starving. I went out first with the grocer in my own home; then a baker; finally I drifted into it. At first it hurt my husband, but after a short time he stopped looking for work and depended on me. That settled it. I left him and went to Springfield for a while. After I heard that he had left town I came back. I wouldn't trust any man now." Very low type.

No. 15. My mother died when I was born. My father has always been a rummy and I had to get along the best I knew how. I longed for company. Then I met a girl older than me. She taught me how to get the money. She is true blue. We live together." Appears to be easily flattered and easily led.

No. 16. Went to live with an older sister when her mother married the second time. She was ruined in her sister's home by a relative by marriage at the age of fourteen. She says that she never knew kindness—always blows and curses. She appears to be a good natured girl and under other circumstances would have been far different. She is really to be pitied. The investigator believes her story to be absolutely true. She is ignorant and is now very rough.

No. 17. Prides herself on being a good money maker. Her husband was injured at the freight yard, but being drunk when injured he could not collect any damages. He died three years ago. Since his death she has been a well known public character.

No. 18. "I was ruined by one of the most prominent men in Hartford today. I could ruin him if I ever told. He persuaded me to have the baby adopted. He said that if he ever can get free he would marry me—if his wife would die or divorce him; and I think she will do the latter. I know she is fast. Then God pity him if he doesn't keep his word. He is way up in politics—a swell fellow. I meet a few on the outside. He doesn't know. He started from the first and always made me presents." This girl is very pretty. She was sixteen years old when she was ruined and employed as a salesgirl.

No. 19 is a stenographer in a lawyer's office. She says, "Temptation was so great when men asked me out to supper. They invariably asked me to go further. When I saw the money I could not resist. I want to go to the mountains and theatres. My folks think I save all I can but \$7 a week with the clothes I buy would soon slide. I say I get salesmen's samples and a girl friend makes them up for me." Pretty but untruthful.

No. 20 is very much above the average but fond of drink. Her husband was a mechanic in a mill. He had a quarrel with the boss, gave up his position and went to New York to do picket duty among strikers about four weeks ago. Before that she had to go on the streets because he was drinking and she had to get 'board for her boys, \$6 per week. She is in hopes her husband won't come back as she has a friend in view who wants to keep her. This girl was straight until she was twenty-four years old.

No. 21 looks diseased. She is an Italian and would talk very little of her past. She is in care of a pimp who takes all her money. She says she can always make a dollar and that her fellow (pimp) is very good; he saves the money. "I do not have to go out bad days." She is lazy, dirty, untruthful, and very ignorant.

No. 22 is another Italian girl with a pimp. She was afraid to talk much as her pimp and others were within hearing. She is really tough but plays innocent. She says her mother's brother ruined her one night in the hallway when her father and mother were asleep. She admits that she was willing but she was less than sixteen years old at the time. She sends him money now sometimes if she gets "luck money" (that is, extra money over the regular price). Her pimp does not know of this. The uncle is a married man. She is very ignorant.

No. 23. Was ruined "when I was a kid." She married the fellow to keep out of a home. They have been through the West together. He is waiting for his father's death to get about a thousand dollars; then they are going to open a restaurant. He works at the Z145 Hotel now. His parents live here and she visits them frequently. His father has a barber shop on XY100 Street. She is untruthful and appears very much hardened.

No. 24 says that after her husband died she could not get steady employment because of her love for whiskey. She has been employed in several hotels; the last place was the BA144, where she remained a little over one year. She is a very low type of woman.

No. 25. "I have always made money when I could. I make many a dollar in the ZB137 Hotel where I work. Bunches of them come here. I never take my men for a room there. I use my own. My friend (pimp) stands in with all the cops around. He knows them all. I will never get pinched." This girl is very tough. Her pimp takes most all her money.

No. 26 earns seven dollars a week at a department store. She pays five dollars a week board. "I can't get what I want for two dollars per. My sister has a big bunch of kids so I pay her big board to help out. I use the hall at my sister's once in a while, but mostly go where the men take me. I don't take any chances with the 'bulls' (police)." Tough and very low morally.

No. 27. "I was a church girl once. I wanted to be a Sister but my mother was not strong for the church. She had turned religious to please the old man. Well, I went to work in a factory, and, believe me, what I did not learn. I left home because she beat me so much. I took a room with a girl. She had a beau and he fell for me. We jumped the town and came here. We are going to beat it in three weeks. He is going to Washington, D. C., and I am going there to work during the big time." (Inauguration week).

No. 28 was seduced by a porter in a hotel in Springfield, where she worked as chambermaid. She has worked in several hotels in this city. Her pimp with whom she lives works in C146's saloon as helper. "When things open up in Hartford we are going to open up a place on XY147 street." Very low morally. Our investigator says she is one of the toughest girls she ever met.

No. 29 is a hard drinker, tough and dissipated now. "I was in love with a fellow. Kept company ten years. He would not marry me while his mother lived. When she died he had been married four years and I never knew it. I started drinking and went to hell right. Never again.

Married a fellow to spite another girl and then threw him out. I don't care what becomes of me." This girl has three boatmen who come to see her every day. She is living with a railroad brakeman.

No. 30 was a bookkeeper in a factory. The man who owned the factory ruined her. When her condition became noticeable he brought her here with a friend of his. The baby was adopted. He comes three times a week and the rest of the time she spends making money. She is anxious to go on the stage. This girl is very pretty and dresses well. She is quite different from the ordinary type.

No. 31. "I was ruined at school—janitor, I think. Two girls and three men were arrested one night. Cop said we were living in a shed but it was a lie. I was home every night. But we were sent up. I learnt enough in prison to fill a book. Why, I learned everything on the calendar. When I came out I started to get money and save it. When I get caught again it will be for something."

No. 32. "I married the fellow who ruined me. He only lived with me six months after the kid was born and eight months in all. When he found out I would not hustle for him he shook me. I tried working in a factory but it was too hard. For a while I lived with B147 on XY148 street, also C149 on XY148 street. When they raided the houses I went to New Haven, but I could not stay away from the kid so I came back. I can make out all right. I am careful."

No. 33 is another low type girl, working for a pimp who takes all her money. She was a mother at fifteen years of age. She is now twenty-two. "I was always in trouble. Started when I went to school. My kid is going to school now." This girl spoke of having been an inmate of A69's house when she was 16. She says she never received a cent at first because she did not have the sense to collect it. She is proud of the number of men she has been with in A69's house—twenty-three in one night. She referred to it as the hoodoo number. That night she refers to as a banner night because she made \$15 for herself.

No. 34. I married a fellow who worked near Hartford. He was a bum—drunk all the time. One day a friend and I were walking down XY150 street and right in front of the B150 we met two men. They were going to the C151 for lunch. We caught on and I have held my friend ever since. He is away up in politics and works in the CX152 Co. I can have anything I want. We eat at C153 regularly." Very pretty and well dressed.

No. 35. "I was known as a clever character woman but I can't quit the booze. I lay off for a week but it gets me. I am on a spree now. After a while I will quit, brace up and on the road again. I am not myself when I am drinking." Very unfortunate. Would not speak of her former life.

No. 36. "Never had any pleasure at home. Tired of all work. Left home three times but always returned. This time away for good. My father drinks and hits me every time he feels like it." Very ignorant girl. Looks like a hard worker. Longs for company. Would have been different under different circumstances.

No. 37. "I slipped when I was a kid, and, believe me, my mother put me in a home. I did not know a thing when I went in, but I was wise when I came out. Girls there told me how to make money and lots of stuff. I came out educated. I stayed home for a bluff for a while; but I hate my mother, and when A154 (No. 36) made up her mind we beat it together. I am of age now and they can't stop me. I send \$2 home for the kid every week." Small for her age; very low type.

No. 38. This girl's parents persuaded her to marry. She went to live with her husband's people. They dictated to her as to spending the money. She has to live there. He won't leave. They handle almost all of his money. She cannot have any money for clothes. Her husband is cold; she longs for affection, clothes and pleasure; he never leaves the house. She comes to Hartford two or three times a week from B155. She will go out with a man for a glass of soda.

No. 39 married a young printer. She lived happily with him until he contracted a venereal disease. She is now suffering from what she calls "inward trouble", which her husband was probably responsible for. He is now a Justice of the Peace in X156. Her parents are both dead. Her children died two months apart. She just drifted into the life. She met a Hartford man who was visiting some friends in Boston. He persuaded her to come here. He soon got tired of coming so steadily. She was lonesome and gathered some friends around her. She says she never bothers with women. She is exceptionally bright and good-looking.

No. 40. "Been going with a fellow my family objected to. He told me I was foolish not to make some extra change. I would go out for pleasure but I soon learned to ask for money." Very peculiar, untruthful, easily led.

No. 41 likes nice clothes and wants to go to see the good shows when they come here. She was a salesgirl. Received \$8 per week and paid \$5 a week to her family for board. She was ruined by her lover three years ago. She had a baby that died. Her father is a crank. He is always casting up her mistake and the disgrace she brought on the family. Some day she is going to New York. She is now employed at a department store and a salesman whom she met there writes her about it; he wants her to come on. She is thinking of going about May. Giddy girl; very pretty; not well-balanced mentally.

No. 42 has a friend who is a waiter in the X157 Hotel. She met him nine months ago. He was then employed in C153 Cafe. She was then working at a department store. He persuaded her to give up work and told her that he would take care of her. She says she does not really have to go out but likes the society of strange men and the extra change that it gives her. She is fond of drink and spends her money on that and foolish things. She only slips out when she is sure her friend is working. He does not know it. She goes with men to their rooms.

No. 43. This girl's husband was a draughtsman. After being married several years he became exceptionally abusive. She was compelled to leave him. She tried to work but had no trade. A man with whom she became acquainted at a factory persuaded her to go to Worcester.

From there she drifted here five years ago. Her husband divorced her but married again. She has two steady friends calling. The greater part of her money she makes at CX79's Cafe—small amounts but quick.

No. 44 was married when she was fifteen years old. Until the baby died her husband was all right. "After that he blamed me for its getting cold. We live in the same house but do not occupy the same room. He has a girl on Main street whom he goes to see. She hustles the streets too." Her husband knows of her going out. "I won't divorce him and he could never save the money." Very low type.

No. 45. "I was always fond of life. Married a dead one; he never goes out. Can't make enough to keep himself. I tired of poverty. While my mother lived she helped me out. After she died I nearly starved. I pity the poor thing; he tries to do. I come in many a night and don't make a cent; then, again, I make out fair. Never stay out all night. Take eleven o'clock car home." Has two children living. Lost all respect for herself. Low type. Uses her money to keep house. Fond of drink.

No. 46 is employed at a department store. "My friend is awful good to me. He pays the rent and half my meals. He lives with me. He is a waiter in AC625 Hotel. I sneak out at night to make some change. You never know how long these fellows will stick. Had two before him and lost both." Very tough and hardened.

No. 47 was one of a large family. Her uncle, aunt and five cousins lived with them. She was seduced by one of these cousins and had a baby. Her mother watches her very closely. She likes to go to dances and the theatres and to have pretty things. She earns \$7 a week at a department store and is allowed twenty-five cents a week out of this in spending money; her family takes the rest. Very ignorant. Easily led. Tries to appear innocent but is now well versed in every method adopted by public women to get money from men.

No. 48 was ruined when very young by a son of the family where she worked. He died of consumption. Her parents were both dead. A relative took care of her until she was able to work. This was in New York City. She then went into a house of prostitution there. A girl who had been an inmate of the house came to Hartford and found a place for her at housework. She left that after two weeks and went back to the streets. She has been an inmate of one of Hartford's houses of prostitution. She has a pimp with whom she lives. She gets enough money to pay for her clothes. Tough.

No. 49 was ruined by a young fellow who worked in New Britain, where she formerly lived. He persuaded her to come here. At first she came over just to solicit. Then he found a position as bell-hop in a hotel here and she came over for good. He works late one week, early the next. He can learn when anything is going to be pulled off by the cops around the hotel and then she doesn't go out. He takes all her money. Very low type.

No. 50. "My husband is an awful bum. He abuses me terrible. When Mrs. A158 came to live next door she told me what a fool I was to take it. She and I would come over here from B159 and make money

and no one knew it. She died last November and I come over alone. I never get a square meal unless I buy it here. I lead a dog's life. He drinks, and his mother, who lives with us, fights with me, saying it is my fault. Some day I will never go back." Very sad case. Above the average in appearance.

No. 51. "I was born a ——. Never could put my mind on anything else. Played with boys all the time." Her mother tried to put her away but could not prove she was bad. "Fellow coming through the town got stuck on me and brought me here, then beat it, leaving me here. I just stayed on and made money. I have some good friends and money comes easy else I would go to New York. Here I know every one." Very tough.

No. 52 was ruined by the young fellow to whom she was engaged. After the baby was born she was so ill that she never left her bed for ten months. He married a doctor's daughter here. Since then she has been reckless. Her family cast it up continually until she had to leave home. This was eight years ago. Now she is careless in her appearance, rough in her manners and thoroughly hardened. She appears rather ignorant and claims she is in the life only for the money. She shows indications of being a drug fiend.

No. 53 was married to a son of CB626, the family who have a store on XY100 street. He would not settle down. Her father made her leave him. She does not care for home life; likes excitement; goes to Boston frequently and to New York. Very much above the average public girl; well educated and neatly dressed. Would not talk very much of her manner of soliciting.

No. 54 has a friend who is a clerk in the X110. He helps her. The head man in a grocery and the manager of the AX161 Hotel are some of her friends. "I don't bother with cheap men. I go to my room with regular friends. Outsiders I take to XY162 Street and some to AX163 Hotel." Very pretty blonde; dresses very well and is well educated.

No. 55 is married. Her husband is employed in the AB164 store as salesman. "Too dumb to be alive. All he knows is work and he makes no money at that. I have a great fellow. He was waiter in a saloon on XY165 street and it was through me he lost his job, so I slip out and help him what I can until he gets in again."

No. 56. "I could never go anywhere. We lived in AC166, Mass.—a jay town. I would go to BC167 and then my father would beat me. I missed the car one week three times, so I stayed away from home. My mother put me away but as soon as I was free I started right. My father was a contractor. We lived in nine places in one year, but he put us in a country place away from town every time. I never write home any more. Very low.

No. 57 was married. Her husband forced her out to meet men. She was afraid to tell any one. He is now in the hospital with consumption, and she has another fellow. He has a fruit-stand on XY168 street. Next month she and her friend are going to Boston to live. Ignorant and very bad. Would do anything to get money.

No. 58 was married. Her husband brutally forced her to unnatural practices to avoid children. She left him and tried to earn her living. She had no trade. She came here with a carpenter, an old lover of hers before she was married. He drank and beat her. She drifted on to the streets; was afraid to go anywhere else. She has several good friends who help her regularly. Thoroughly hardened now. Will meet anyone now for \$1, using her own room.

No. 59 was married. Husband lost his job and went to New York to get a position. She learned that he was living with another woman. She followed him to try to get him to come back. He refused. He allows her \$3 a week for their boy. She lives with a very nice family in XC169. She gets \$4 a week. She is trying to get good clothes to make her husband feel badly when he sees her. She is going to New York for Easter. Ignorant and easily led.

No. 60. A young man of whom she was very fond seduced her. Then he bought medicine from a druggist on AXY110 street which brought around the desired effects. A friend of the family, a business man here in town, took her to XC170's Cafe for lunch one day. She had been drinking and told him of her misfortune. He made a promise to help her if she would allow him to be her friend. They go to AT171 twice a week. She meets other fellows when he is not around. Very pretty but easily led.

No. 61 would talk very little about herself. She has raised three children alone. She would not say whether she is a widow or not. She has one girl living in A172, married; a boy is working in a tobacco factory; No. 63, her other daughter, is living in C173. Uses cocaine.

No. 62. She and her daughter, No. 66, solicit together—pick men from the street while walking together. They have men call at their rooms. If the daughter is out the mother tries to get the trade. A baby girl, five years old, said to be lacerated as a result of carnal abuse, lives with them. No. 66 claims the baby is her mother's but there is some evidence that it is her own. A son solicits trade for the mother and sister.

No. 63 is the daughter of No. 61. This girl is very pretty. Her husband, whom she married six months ago, is a chauffeur. Since her marriage she has been straight; but she swears that as soon as he fails to provide for her support she will go back into the life.

No. 64 uses heroin. She worked as a waitress in a cheap restaurant in Hartford. "I grew tired of the continual drudge in a restaurant; and too many chances were given me." She married about eight months ago and supports her husband with her earnings as a prostitute. He has been out of work for some time. She has low ideas and is ignorant, but is a very fair looking girl.

No. 65 runs the rooming house where No. 62 and No. 66 live. From her earlier life she has been known as a public character. She has been married twice. Her present husband does not make a legitimate living. She helps him from her earnings as a prostitute and by taking roomers. She has X174 living with her. Her mother also lives in the same house.

No. 66 is one of the lowest types in Hartford. Her history has been given with that of her mother, No. 62. All of her earnings as a prostitute go to her husband.

As may be inferred from the above there are all grades in the classification of prostitutes, from the woman or girl of loose morals who, although engaged in a respectable occupation, occasionally prostitutes herself among a small circle of her acquaintance or to a single individual for the sake of a good time, occasional presents, or even small tips that she may receive, down through the large number who make this their principal means of support to the comparatively small class who carry on their trade as the occupants of a regular house of prostitution. The nearly universal tendency is for these girls to pass in a few years down the course of these grades. Various factors in their lives, especially age, mental deficiency, alcohol, disappointment, and the venereal diseases hasten to unfit them for their particular business until, at the end, they either marry, die, become keepers themselves or land in jails and workhouses as common bums.

CHAPTER VI.

CAUSES OF PROSTITUTION.

A comprehensive view of the fundamental factors of the problem of prostitution is necessary to an adequate consideration of possible remedies. We must attempt, therefore, an analysis of the causes of prostitution. The life histories of Hartford prostitutes given in the preceding pages indicate some of the conditions which have led women into vice. Biographical studies of this kind and inquiries into the circumstances of the classes from which prostitution is recruited are important because they bring to light matters which otherwise would not receive attention. The fact that prostitutes have been a despised class whose very existence many would have been glad to ignore makes it inevitable that ignorance and misunderstanding in regard to conditions affecting them should be widely prevalent. The first task of modern investigation was, therefore, to describe those conditions in detail. But to consider only the women, the supply side of this business, would give an incomplete view of the problem, and lead to a neglect of practical measures for reducing the demand for prostitutes on the part of men. A detailed study of the factors which lead men into vice, however, would encounter great difficulties. But these factors are largely matters of common knowledge. What is needed is not further knowledge, but the courage to deal with what we know. Besides the male and the female sides of the problem, the demand and the supply, there are the commercial factors—the middlemen who incite and stimulate the demand and bring out the supply, and the various ancillary lines of business, such as that of hotels and saloons, which encourage the evil traffic because of the incidental profit it brings to them. In the following discussion we group what appear to us to be the factors which should be emphasized under the three heads just suggested—(1) Factors affecting men and the demand for prostitution; (2) Factors affecting women and the supply of prostitutes; (3) Commercial factors.

I. DEMAND.

A powerful factor, acting in both sexes but especially strong in the male, is the sexual impulse. As a force necessary to the perpetuation of the race it cannot be eliminated. Like the desire for food, to which it is often likened, the sexual impulse is one of the most fundamental, though not always conscious, motives of human activity. Unlike the desire for food, however, the sex-appetite is not one which must be satisfied. The life of the individual does not depend upon its gratification. Moreover, its gratification is not essential to the bodily health of the individual. The doctrine of the necessity of the sexual act has no foundation in fact.* Unfortunately, however, the still widely held notion of the need of satisfying sexual desires gives artificial stimulus to this appetite and thus helps to stimulate a demand for prostitution.

The fact that the sexual impulse is strong irrespective of whether there is opportunity of satisfying it in wedlock is the chief cause of sexual irregularities. The presence in our cities of large numbers of unmarried men and of men who, for one reason or another, are deprived of home life, creates a market for the services of the prostitute. Whatever puts obstacles in the way of marriage and raises the age at which men can marry, tends to increase the demand. As long as a demand for prostitution exists, it will be met in part at least by a supply. It is a mistake, however, to assume that the demand must be fully satisfied, or that it must be regarded as an entirely uncontrollable force. It can, in part, be discouraged by the weight of social disapproval and by obstacles placed in the way of its satisfaction. It can be diminished by removing artificial incitements and open allurements to vice. It can be further diminished by education in self-control, in knowledge of the dangers of illicit sexual relations, and in appreciation of the place of sex in the life of the individual and of the race.

* See address by Dr. William H. Howell, Professor of Physiology, Johns Hopkins University, before the Maryland Society of Social Hygiene, 1912.

II. SUPPLY.

It would be possible to enumerate a large number of conditions which in one way or another lead girls into the life of prostitution. A part of the "supply" of girls for this business is *attracted* into the market in various ways. Of another part it may be said that it has been practically *forced* into prostitution.

Low Wages. Of the factors which lead to a more or less voluntary adoption of the life of prostitution, that of insufficient wages in the respectable occupations open to women has received special attention of late, and merits some consideration in this report. Among the wage-earners of Hartford are several thousand women and girls.* A living wage for a self-supporting girl in Hartford has been estimated as not less than ten dollars a week (seven dollars for food and lodging; three for clothes and recreation). Obviously a considerable number of girls fail to get this wage. In the metal industry of Hartford, for example, according to figures furnished by the Connecticut Industrial Commission,‡ 95.34% of the girls of sixteen years of age or over receive less than \$10 actual weekly earnings; 83.56% receive less than \$9; 70.13% less than \$8; 39.17% less than \$7. It may be remarked that the wages paid to girls in this industry are better than in some other employments.‡

Wide publicity has recently been given to the view that the low wages of women are the chief factor in the supply of prostitutes; that women finding themselves on the brink of actual

* In the year 1900 the number of female breadwinners sixteen years of age and over was 8,597. Of these 1,761 were from sixteen to twenty years of age, 1,907 from twenty-one to twenty-four years of age, 2,541 from twenty-five to thirty-four years of age. (Special Reports of Census Office, Statistics of Women at Work, 1907.)

‡ From a study of 455 girls in this industry.

‡ No exact inference in regard to the number of girls and women failing to receive a sufficient income is possible unless we know how many are entirely dependent on their own earnings. Unfortunately we have no data in regard to this question for Hartford. The U. S. Bureau of Labor has interviewed women wage-earners in seven cities to ascertain the proportion entirely dependent on themselves. Among department store employees thus interviewed the percentage of those entirely dependent on themselves is 35.8 in Boston, 20.3 in Chicago, 27.7 in Minneapolis and St. Paul, 7.9 in New York, 22.2 in Philadelphia, 21 in St. Louis. Among mill and factory employees the percentage is 25.3 in Boston, 16.4 in Chicago, 18.5 in Minneapolis and St. Paul, 13 in New York, 18 in Philadelphia, and 21.6 in St. Louis. (See Senate Documents Vol. 90, 61st Congress, 2nd session, page 15.)

want give up the struggle to gain a livelihood by legitimate means and throw themselves into prostitution as the most obvious and only way of making a living.

It is certain that little dependence can be put upon the reasons for entering a life of prostitution given by a woman under circumstances that induce her to place herself in as favorable a light as possible. The method of public hearings recently employed by a legislative commission of a western state is not likely to lead to trustworthy results. The only method to be used if the truth is what is sought is to make the inquiry under such circumstances that the woman has no inducement to give a biased explanation. By following these methods an experienced investigator will arrive much nearer the truth than will those who bring these women face to face with the employers of labor. Those who have used the correct method of inquiry have not established a very direct connection between low wages and prostitution. Here in Hartford our investigator for some time pretended to be a common prostitute. Through a period of months she gradually won the confidence of girls practicing prostitution, took them to her rooms, went to the theatre with them, treated them at the cafes, etc. She is still in their entire confidence and not suspected of being an investigator. In this way she has little by little drawn out their life histories and turned them over to this Commission. Our conclusions are largely based on data secured in this way. We have found in Hartford only two or three cases in which the facts lent any color to the inference that low wages or want were the direct and immediate cause of inducing a girl previously virtuous to enter a life of prostitution.

After prostitution has been taken up, however, the smallness of the wage in ordinary employment is perhaps the chief obstacle to a return to a virtuous life.

In Senate Document No. 645, 61st Congress, 2nd Session, on the "Relation between Occupation and Criminality of Women," a study covering over three thousand delinquents, it was found that "by far the greater number of women gainfully employed who had reached the prisons and penitentiaries came there from the pursuits which have for generations been recognized as peculiarly woman's work, and that the newer industries opened to them in the last thirty years furnish very much less

than their proportion. 80% came from their own homes or from the traditional pursuits of women, and a trifle less than 12% from all other lawful occupations."

A special investigation into the "Relation Between Occupation and Immorality Among Women" shows little connection between occupation and immorality, or want and immorality. They "go wrong because of causes operative before they entered the industrial world." In a group of 100 cases "The unscrupulous employer appears but four times, and among the women of good inclinations he appears but twice." In the studies of The Hartford Vice Commission but two employers have been found who have been proved to have taken advantage of their position as employers to seduce female employees from the path of virtue.

"Out of one hundred women leading habitually immoral lives in Boston, whose histories were obtained by the U. S. Bureau of Labor in such a way that the girls did not know that their histories were being taken, only six gave low wages or want as a chief factor in their downfall. And of these six there was only one where the need was not due to the fault or failure of someone who should have been the wage-earner." (Senate Document No. 645.)

The relation between vice and wages is usually less direct than is suggested by popular theory. It is not so much the insufficiency of the wage of the girl at the time she takes the first step towards prostitution as the environment of poverty in which she has grown up that gradually leads to the state of mind and to the situation which make that step possible. A great variety of unfavorable conditions have drawn "daughters of the poor" into traffic with their bodies. So far as it is a question of wages, it is a question of the wages not only of women and girls, but of husbands and fathers; in short, of the earnings of the entire social class from which the supply of prostitutes has been so largely derived.

Defective Physical Condition. Unsanitary surroundings, bad housing conditions, overwork, lack of recreation, etc., obviously lead to defective physical condition and sometimes to feeble minds. Of the latter we shall have something to say in the next paragraph. Defective physical condition may cause in some cases a more ready susceptibility to the temptations of dangerous pleasures, and one might presuppose that it would be

abnormally frequent among those drawn into the life of prostitution. It seems, however, that the charm of physical perfection and good health so increase both the opportunities and the temptations to a life of immorality that they more than counter-balance the effects of a weak or ill-developed physique. Such studies as we have along this line indicate that the girls who have given way to sexual temptation are, as a matter of fact, a trifle higher in the physical scale than the generality of delinquents. Female delinquents, however, as a class are below normal in physique. This is fairly well established by the studies of Dr. Alice Weld Tallant in over five hundred observations made on the girls admitted to Sleighton Farm from the courts of Eastern Pennsylvania. (Bulletin of American Academy of Medicine, October, 1912.) Compared with Boston school children these delinquent girls, as a whole, showed a somewhat higher percentage of physical defects. Of those classed by Dr. Tallant as in good physical condition, 75% had been immoral; while of those classed as in fair or poor condition, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ % had been immoral. Our own observation of prostitutes, both in Hartford and elsewhere, leads us to believe that early in their career their physical condition is usually good, or even above that of the average woman of the same stratum of society, but that, after a few years of dissipation, this rapidly changes and the earmarks of decay appear. We do not, therefore, credit the assertion that physical defectiveness is a direct factor in the causation of prostitution.

Defective Mentality. In a letter to the Chairman of this Commission, dated November 19, 1912, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women, says, "Out of 2,020 common prostitutes of New York City, of whom we have data, we have marked as normal 49.3%; epileptic 1.2%; insane 2.4%; neurotic 2.64%; feeble minded in varying degrees 29.2%; or a total of 35.5% sub-normal, and 15.17% on whom we have not sufficient data to base a judgment and have marked 'unknown'."

These figures represent, we believe, the best data obtainable on the question of the mental defectiveness of prostitutes. They indicate that 35% or more of common prostitutes are mentally deficient according to the tests used by competent psychologists. This seems a high proportion, but as the percentage of mentally

defective that might be found among virtuous women by the application of the same tests is unknown, we have no standard for comparison.

A girl of defective mentality moves along the course of least resistance. If circumstances surround her with safeguards or guide her life into safe channels, she remains a respectable member of society, but still "non-moral" and without mental vigor. If, on the other hand, circumstances are not favorable, she may drift into habits of vice. An effort on the part of someone at an early age in her career, or even after the first mis-step, might have changed her whole course through life. Institutional care might have helped her. Aside from such aid and good fortune, however, there is small likelihood of reform. The necessary mental vigor is not there.

In this connection it may be noted that physical and mental characteristics do not make prostitutes a class by themselves. They are rather to be considered members of the whole class of female delinquents. This at least is the impression gained by a study of prostitutes found in institutions. They do not differ from other delinquents in their origin and development, nor in their physical or mental condition. The fact that they have become prostitutes rather than thieves is a mere matter of chance. Very often they are both, but theft is more likely to bring them to an institution than sexual offence.

The causes of defective mentality are somewhat intangible. In addition to unfavorable influences in environment, heredity and pre-natal alcoholic poisoning in all probability play a large part. The problems of heredity are too difficult and unsettled for discussion in this report. In any case we are not prepared to urge radical measures for protecting society against hereditary taints. The meager character of such conclusions in regard to heredity as are established beyond question, and the difficulty of eliminating the effect of environment so as to isolate the effect of heredity in the life of any individual make it appear that the time has not come for far-reaching eugenic reforms.

Lack of Wholesome Recreation. Play is necessary to the symmetrical development of body and mind, and youth is the time for it. If opportunities for play under safe and wholesome conditions are lacking, the suggestions of the sexual impulse and the excitement of vice may become irresistibly attract-

ive. A community which allows congestion of dwellings to such a degree that its children cannot find a place for play must make some special provision. Hartford is a leader in recreational facilities for children. We are widely known for the pioneer work of our Park Board. Other cities send their representatives here to learn, and yet, in the words of the Superintendent of this same Board, "We haven't scratched the surface yet" of what we should do.

Hartford has a population of about 100,000. If ten hours a day are consumed in work, and ten in eating and sleeping, there are four hours left for recreation. That is 400,000 hours a day to be spent in play somewhere. If we add to this the time of those who are always sick, those too old and those too young to work, we have, roughly, a half million free hours a day in Hartford. Men and women, boys and girls, that work eight or ten hours a day at one continuous, monotonous task are the ones that most need hours of leisure. They should have some recreation every day if they are to preserve a normal, moral attitude toward their environment. We allow a very few of our population to heap tenements together, to fill up back yards with more and alleyways with still more tenements. In such places a large part of our population is born and reared. But where shall the children learn fair play? Where shall they learn the good things of living? Where must the young woman meet her male acquaintances? Where must the young man meet his friends? Such questions suggest the seriousness of the problem which the community has to deal with.

III. COMMERCIAL FACTORS.

A considerable amount of the social evil is the creation of cold-blooded, commercial enterprise. Added to the prostitution arising inevitably from human weakness and misfortune is that which is built up as a business by middlemen who force a supply of girls and stimulate a demand. There's money in it—"profit in selling girls to houses, profit in selling their services, profit in selling clothes to them and liquor to their customers, profit in renting disorderly houses and apartments."* The extent to

* The Survey, May 24, 1913.

which commercial methods have organized this traffic has only recently become generally known. That men and women kept girls in houses of ill-fame was common knowledge. That certain other individuals made a business of supplying girls for these houses for a consideration and sought to draw from them a commission during their stay in these houses came as a surprise to most students of the problem.

Enough has been said in preceding pages of this report to make it plain that vice has been commercialized in this city much as elsewhere. One of the strongest arguments for continuing the policy of keeping the regular houses of this city closed is the fact that by this means vice, as a business, becomes unprofitable. The pimps still sit in the cafes and read their papers while the women "work". But the keeper is out of it, and the trafficker has no field.

The Liquor Traffic. As sources of misery to our citizens, the liquor traffic and prostitution go hand in hand. If you want to find where prostitution dwells inquire at some of the saloons. The bar-keeper, though unawares, has been a good informer for the Commission. If you wish to see women in the role of prostitutes at their worst, go to some of the saloons. Sexual crimes often have their origin in the excitement of the drinking-cup. Alcohol is the drug used to stupefy the conscience of the novice. Rooms over saloons or connected with them are among the most serviceable places for purposes of prostitution.

Use of Theatres by Prostitutes. In this connection attention should be given to the opportunities for vice offered where large crowds may be found at night. All of our theatres are used as soliciting places by prostitutes. Three or four are notorious. Prostitutes take their station at the back of the theatres, in the halls and corridors and on the stairs of the exit. Here they are at the close of every performance. The innocent and unsuspecting do not see them, but by signs and actions easily understood they procure their customers and take them to rooms or so-called hotels, near-by, where a third party takes his toll of their vice in the form of room-rent. These practices are well-known to the police and to the officials of the theatres.

In the foregoing discussion we have considered chiefly what appear to be among the more immediate causes of the social

evil. But this Commission realizes that back of these are other social forces. Whatever lowers the general standard of morality, fosters ignorance, increases poverty, or adds to the degradation of the poor, creates conditions favorable to prostitution. Some reference, perhaps, should have been made also to the persistence of a primitive attitude toward women, a survival from the time when women were objects of theft, purchase and ownership. A discussion of all these more remote causes of the social evil, however, is beyond the province of this report.

CHAPTER VII.
PREVENTIVE MEASURES.
I. EDUCATION IN SEX.

The ideal of education is to give such guidance to the mental activity of the child that, in the acquisition of facts, he is led to a proper perspective and a disposition to react with reason to his environment. As applied to matters of sex this would imply that when the child reaches the age of development which obliges him to ask questions regarding sexual matters, his inquiry should be met with the same frankness with which his other questions are met, or ought to be met. He should be told as much of the truth as will satisfy his natural curiosity. As he further develops he will ask questions in proportion to his need. This will occur much as a child will ask for food when he needs it. The cerebral cortex and association paths in his brain develop very rapidly, and answers to his questions are necessary to symmetrical development. Mystery thrown about the subjects relating to sex and untruthfulness in these matters on the part of his parents may so affect his habits of thought as to cause him forever to associate this subject with things secret and evil. A policy of reasonable frankness would help to keep the child's conception of sex matters on its proper plane, and this should be an elevated and honorable one. Nothing is more certain than that, from a biological point of view at least, the functions of sex are worthy of honor. Why, therefore, should we try to make that which nature makes so important, a subject of shame? Here is the practical problem. The teaching suggested above undoubtedly belongs to the parents, and can best be done by them. It is just as obvious, however, that the vast majority of parents do not perform this duty. Who, then, shall do it? The simplest answer is—The school. But what shall be the method?

The Commission has given serious thought to this subject, has listened to the advocates of various methods, and is well

aware of the practical difficulties involved. Methods are still in the experimental stage. In the course of nature study given in some of our schools a beginning has been made in instruction relating to sex, and of treating the subject in a perfectly natural way. Very properly there is nothing that goes under the name of instruction in sex. It is just as important that these matters should not be over-emphasized as that they should receive sufficient attention. The children are taught about the fertilization of flowers and the dissemination of seeds, and are led to observe frogs, toads and similar living beings. In a simple unaffected way, free from lascivious suggestion, some conception of sexual function is gained. Such instruction, in the main, gives a biological view of sex. When, at a later stage of the child's development, the sexual problems of human life are met, there will be the necessity of considering social and ethical questions. Whether this can be done in any school of less than collegiate grade we are not prepared to state. Parents and the church, however, have duties to perform in this matter. It is our belief that a religious faith is one of the greatest helps to right conduct in questions of sex.*

A great drawback to the introduction of sex teaching of any kind in the schools is the lack of properly qualified teachers. Such work requires high ideals, a lofty conception of the work to be done, breadth of mind and a very thorough training in biological studies. Teachers with such equipment cannot at present be secured by most of our public schools. The general public, moreover, appears to be not quite prepared to see such teaching introduced. In any case it will be necessary to proceed with caution. The first step is, perhaps, to interest our normal schools in preparing teachers for this work. We believe that the whole question will in time be solved by the school authorities, and that the city will do best to leave the details with them.

Beyond the above suggestions as to what may be done in the public schools, the Commission does not see that the city can do anything in the matter of education. Much that is good has been done and is being done by other organizations; some that is bad. We believe that the Mayor might sometimes exercise his veto on the circulation of literature, advertisements, etc., of an obscene and suggestive nature.

* We call attention to the work of The Holy Name Society.

II. STATE REFORMATORY FOR WOMEN.

Connecticut is in great need of a State Reformatory for Women. At the present time we have only one public institution for delinquent girls, the Industrial School for Girls at Middletown. It is an excellent institution, but not open to girls over sixteen years of age. For girls convicted after reaching that age there are no reformatory institutions except the House of the Good Shepherd in Hartford and the Florence Crittenden Mission in New Haven. Both of these are under private control, and there are many respects in which public institutions are superior to those in private control.

It is the custom of our law to try to make the punishment fit the crime. In this class of cases at least it is certain that the punishment ought to fit the criminal. Women convicted of misdemeanors or crimes of a sexual nature present an endless variety of types; girls of seventeen, nineteen, twenty-five or thirty; girls with good parents and homes, girls with bad parents, girls with no parents; those who have just started on the downward path, and those already hardened in sin; the well, the sick, the non-moral and the immoral, the mentally defective and the insane. For all these there is need of a custodial institution managed on a high plane. Girls should be sent to this institution under indeterminate sentences, either unlimited in time or subject to periodical revision by the court until the board of governors of the institution could see fit to release them back to a self-guided life on probation, or transfer them to the institution best suited to their needs. The heredity, personal history, circumstances, physique, and mental capacity of each inmate should be scientifically studied. To this reformatory should be sent all female delinquents of sixteen years or over convicted for other than capital offences. Many would doubtless have to remain there for life. Life in such an institution, however, would be preferable to the miserable existence awaiting the typical prostitute. In this connection we may record that we have been able to learn of exceedingly few habitual prostitutes of this city who have been brought back to a respectable life in any way other than through marriage.

One of the greatest advantages of the establishment of a reformatory such as we propose would be the possibility of doing away very largely or entirely with the practice of imposing fines

on prostitutes. The system of fines has not given altogether satisfactory results. The prostitute who is fined is disposed to impute to the court the idea that she may earn the means of paying the fine on the streets or in a disorderly house. She may thus come to regard the fine as a license fee imposed on her trade. In any case, if poverty may lead to vice, impoverishment by fine seems a poor method of preventing vice.

III. PREVENTIVE WORK BY WOMEN WITH POLICE POWERS.

If the proportion of Hartford born girls shown by our histories holds throughout the entire prostitute class of this city, as it probably does, more than one out of every three prostitutes plying their trade here were recruited from families in this city. The Commission also has figures that would indicate that there are between forty-five and ninety Hartford born girls practicing prostitution in New York City. There are doubtless many others in other cities. This would indicate that our city has been a fairly prolific source of supply. We have already referred to the large number of unprotected young girls on the streets, at the moving picture shows and elsewhere. It is among girls thus exposed that those seeking victims do their work. The natural temptation incident to such exposure may lead by easy stages through innocent flirtation down through the other courses to the near prostitute class and thence to habitual prostitution. Here preventive measures are clearly indicated. It is our opinion that two women with police powers but not in uniform could do invaluable work with girls not yet fully given to prostitution, and possibly even among the confirmed prostitutes. These women might be probation officers as the law gives police powers to probation officers. The present woman probation officer, with her multitudinous duties, does as much distinctively preventive work as is possible, but her duties are almost always connected with cases already brought to the attention of the court. In fact, this is the function of a probation officer, as the name implies, and involves as much work as it is possible for one woman to perform. We believe that by getting at girls before they become court cases many of them can be kept virtuous, and that others who have just gone over the edge between virtue and vice can be brought back.

For obvious reasons women, and women of character and ability, are needed for this work. The nature, training and experience of the ordinary male police officer does not qualify him for such duties. A woman could talk to the girls and their parents without giving offence. She could perform her work on the streets, in the theatres, dance halls and other places less conspicuously and with more certainty. The sympathetic attitude of a woman, her intuitions and understanding of her own sex would give her an influence with these girls such as no man could attain.

IV. OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECREATION.

In the preceding chapter we have indicated the importance of recreational facilities in view of the strong human need for play and the dangerous allurements of vice when opportunities for wholesome recreation are lacking. In this place we wish to point out, with special reference to local conditions, some of the recreational opportunities which have been offered and await further development.

(1) *Parks.* Our parks are ample in area but still somewhat lacking in equipment. The Park Department does excellent work with the funds at hand. These funds should be increased from time to time so that the Park Department may work out a more extensive system of lighting, and that police service may be extended in proportion to the growth of the use of the parks. A municipal recreation building such as has been recently proposed would be of great value to the city.

(2) *Use of School Buildings for Community Purposes.* We have large sums invested in our school buildings. These buildings and equipment are for the most part idle in the evenings and on Saturdays and Sundays. Other cities use them as centers of all sorts of social improvements. Here is an opportunity awaiting development by public spirited citizens.

(3) *Our Churches.* Our churches are doing much, but far less than they could do if they were fully alive to their opportunities. Their parish houses and perhaps when necessary their halls of worship should be filled with merry-makers every night in the week. Here would be opportunities for the moulding of character and the protection of womanhood by good influences

brought to bear on the young lives that await only some touch of chance to determine their whole future.

(4) *Moving Pictures.* Put the moving picture machine in the parish house or even in the church, if there is no parish house; not to take the place of any of the present activities of the church but as an auxiliary whose universality of appeal may make it a strong moral force. Even as commercialized, its power for good has without doubt far surpassed its evils. It is a common remark among the bartenders of Hartford that the moving picture show has already played havoc with the profits of the saloon in this city. It is not only keeping down the profits; it is keeping down the number of recruits to the enslaving habit of drink. (See report of Excise Board of Washington, D. C., 1912.)

We fully realize the evils attendant upon the moving picture show, and still more those connected with the vaudeville and other theatrical performances. We should seek to strip them of their evils while we retain what is good. On the whole the subject matter of the pictures shown in Hartford is generally acknowledged to be good. Commercial competition seems to operate for the common good in this respect.

(5) *Other Recreational Opportunities.* The Young Men's Christian Association and the Women's Christian Association furnish recreation of the most desirable kind, but their facilities and opportunities are limited as compared to the need of the community. The same is true of the social settlements, the Good Will Club, the Village Street Mission, Warburton Chapel, and the many other enterprises that have helpful recreation as a large part of their gift to the city. Their method is excellent; their sphere limited. Society as a whole, and in this instance the city, should fill the gap not covered by these organizations.

V. IMPROVEMENT IN PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS AS A CURE FOR VICE.

The effect of the general cleaning up of a locality has a most pronounced effect in driving vice to cover. To be sure this sometimes means only a change of the habitat of vice, but what produces results in one part of the city may be made more or less operative elsewhere. An illustration of this was the effect produced by the opening of Gold street. Before its opening

this street was a rookery of vice, large numbers of prostitutes living there and soliciting from the windows. No. 5 Arch street, a place well known for many years as a bawdy house, lost this character when the buildings north of that street were torn down. State street was cleansed of prostitutes in 1908 when it was broadened, paved and made a thoroughfare between this city and East Hartford. Charles street, formerly infested by prostitutes of the lowest sort, was exposed to the Boulevard by tearing down the houses east of it. Then it appeared that vice, like vermin, cannot bear the light. One of the most immediate ways to rid the city of disreputable localities is to clean them up physically, beautify them and open them up to public view. Avoid the construction of back alleys and rear tenements.

VI. THE REPORTING OF VENEREAL DISEASES.

By the statutes of the state venereal diseases are specifically exempted from the list of reportable diseases. No one doubts that they may be communicated by one person to another, either by personal contact (the most frequent manner), or indirectly, by utensils, clothing, linen, etc. The only question is—Shall they be reported to the health officers of boards of health as are other contagious diseases? On this point there is a difference of opinion.

The cases of ordinary contagious diseases, such as scarlet fever and diphtheria, are reported by name in order that their prevalence may be known, and that the patients and attendants may be isolated, and the premises afterwards disinfected. It is not proposed to isolate those infected with venereal diseases. Isolation is unnecessary and, moreover, the contagious stage of these diseases is so long (at least three months in one of them and two years or more in the other), and, unfortunately, so many persons in some portions of their lives have become infected (innocently or guiltily), that it is utterly impracticable to attempt their quarantine. If they are not to be isolated why should they be reported?

The known infection by venereal disease often brings disgrace and, to some extent, ostracism. If the guilty alone were thus punished no injustice would be done, but in many instances the suffering of innocent persons would be augmented and they

would be unjustly punished for the sins of others were their affliction made known.

That an innocent wife or husband should be infected by a guilty one is outrageous and revolting. If reporting by name cases of venereal disease would prevent this infection, it ought to be done. The fear of publicity might act as a deterrent to some persons, but so much suffering and hardship would fall upon others from exposure that we hesitate to recommend it. Families would be broken up and the lot of innocent wives and children made harder, while the community as a whole would gain but little.

The practical difficulties in the way of a complete report by name are great; indeed, almost insuperable. The difficulty of accurate diagnosis is often such that a conscientious physician would hesitate to report a case, not only for fear of injustice to the patient, but also of the danger of a suit for libel. And, when innocent persons are the patients, physicians would be loath to expose them to the publicity which would follow reporting. The practical result would be that some cases no physician would report; and other cases, which ought perhaps to be reported, would go to unscrupulous physicians, who would agree not to report them. Thus the law would prove a failure.

The most that would be gained from reporting by name, even if the law were obeyed, would be a knowledge of the extent of the prevalence of venereal diseases, since it is not proposed to isolate infected persons. This knowledge can be obtained by the reporting of such cases by description only, and not by name. All objections to reporting are by this method removed and all the advantages retained. We are of the opinion that all cases of venereal disease should be reported in this manner to health officers or boards of health. The report could be made sufficiently descriptive to establish the individuality of each case (without disclosing the identity of the person), and to prevent the duplication of the same case even if reported by several physicians. Such cases should be reported on blanks substantially as follows:

1. Date.
2. Exact age of patient.
3. Sex of patient.
4. Name of physician reporting.

5. Names of previous physicians consulted, with approximate dates.
6. Disease.
7. Is the diagnosis beyond reasonable doubt or based on probabilities?
8. Date of the infection.
9. Place of infection.
10. Source of infection:
 - a. From a professional prostitute?
 - b. From a semi-professional prostitute?
 - c. From an acquaintance?
 - d. From husband?
 - e. From wife?
 - f. From other innocent source?
11. Complications thus far present.
12. To what extent is patient a menace to society?

Under special circumstances the Board of Health could then in some instances take action.

VII. PHYSICIAN'S CERTIFICATE AS A PRE-REQUISITE FOR MARRIAGE.

This Commission has carefully considered the arguments for and against a physician's certificate as a pre-requisite to marriage, and believes that there are so many practical objections to such a requirement that it would not be advisable to recommend it. We do recommend, however, that applicants for a license to marry should state under oath that they have not contracted gonorrhoea within six months or syphilis within two years. The commission suggests the terms of six months and two years respectively because, according to the accepted authorities, these are the *minimum* periods within which, with the best medical care and attention and with the cooperation of the patient, the diseases in question can be safely declared cured. In other words no person should be permitted by law to marry who has contracted either disease within the time specified for that disease no matter what that person believes as to his or her own cure or

what any physician may say. The above requirement would have all the educational advantage claimed for the physician's certificate, and is not open to most of the objections which could be made against the physician's certificate.

VIII. THE PUBLISHING OF BANNS.

We believe that the publishing of banns in advance is a desirable custom, but to make even this obligatory by law might in some instances exactly reverse the intent of such a law. We believe the clergy should do all they can to popularize this custom.

IX. AGE OF CONSENT.

We recommend the raising of the age of consent for women to eighteen years, provided that legislation be at the same time enacted which establishes degrees of rape, with penalties to correspond to the gravity of the offence.* The aim of such legislation should be to throw every possible safeguard about the girl, while recognizing the fact that a boy less than eighteen years of age having sexual intercourse with a willing girl below the age of consent should not be punished so severely as a mature man who seduces a young girl.

X. ARREST OF PATRONS OF PROSTITUTION.

We further urge that the male patrons of prostitutes, regardless of their social standing, be tried, and punished if convicted. Often in making raids men have been intentionally allowed to escape. In other cases where they have been brought to the police station they have not been booked for trial. In yet other cases men have been allowed to give fictitious names when their true names were known, and have been prosecuted under such fictitious names. In fact, it has too frequently been the custom, in one way or another, to protect from exposure all men except regular hangers-on of the lowest type.

* See Colorado Statute relating to rape (Colorado Statutes, Annotated, Section 1649.)

XI. THE IOWA INJUNCTION AND ABATEMENT LAW.

This Commission is in favor of legislation drawn on the general principles of the above law. This law would compel the owners of real estate and the real estate agents to take a very lively interest in the use and reputation of their property. The law is reported to work satisfactorily in Iowa, where it was passed in 1909, and has also been introduced into twelve other states and territories. (Vigilance, March 19, 1913, page 27.)

In Connecticut and in practically every state in the Union we have laws that provide that the owner of real estate who allows his property to be used for improper purposes is liable to criminal prosecution. The practical difficulty found in Connecticut has been that it is exceedingly difficult to bring home to the titled owners personal knowledge of the fact that the place is being conducted as a house of ill-fame or for assignation purposes. In many instances the owner really does not know; in other cases the real owner merely transfers title to some out of town person. Under the Iowa statute it may be established that the house is a nuisance; and the prosecution may be brought against the building itself. A successful prosecution can go as far as to close the building absolutely for a year, whether the owner knows it has been used for illegitimate purposes or not. A fine can also be levied against the property and collected like any municipal assessment; it can be put on record as a lien against the property, and come next to the tax lien; that is, it will take precedence over mortgages or other encumbrances. The statute can go still further in enforcing the penalty against the house itself. The personal property within the house can be removed by the authorities and can even be ordered sold and a fine of three hundred dollars collected. The house can then be absolutely closed to anybody's use for the space of one year.

XII. TIN PLATE ORDINANCE.

The original ordinance was passed in Portland, Oregon. It requires that every building, used in whole or in part as a hotel, rooming house, lodging house, boarding house, tenement house, or saloon, should have displayed thereon a plate bearing the name

and address of the owner in letters of sufficient size to be readable from the street. When the owner of the building is not the owner of the land the names of both must be displayed. Where title is held in a representative capacity (for example, as a trustee) the name of the representative must be displayed.

We believe that such an ordinance would have a direct repressive action upon prostitution in this city. Its indirect influence would also be large, as it would make for a better enforcement of tenement house laws, laws respecting sanitation, and laws of all kinds concerning disorderly places. To take a concrete instance, a certain saloon in Hartford was noted during the months of our investigation as being used almost exclusively as a rendezvous for prostitutes, their pimps and patrons. The place was not on the East Side but on a street where it was quite conspicuous. It is fairly safe to assume that if the owner's name had been displayed over the door of that saloon the premises would never have been used as they were. In any event his attention would have been called so frequently to the disorderly acts taking place within that he could not plead ignorance. It is unlikely that he would have been willing to have it advertised that he was profiting as landlord by the pimp-owned girls operating within.

We could name numerous other instances in which such an ordinance as we have proposed would have an equally salutary effect. There are numerous rookeries whose owners would hesitate to display their names upon them in their present condition.

CONCLUSION.

The measures considered in this chapter are preventive, aiming at the elimination of factors which lead men and women into vice, and at such development of mind and character that temptation may be resisted and the sexual side of life given its proper place. We make no pretence of having discussed all possible means of prevention. Probably every social or political reform which diminishes poverty and raises the general moral and intellectual tone of the community, contributes more or less directly to a decrease of the social evil. In addition to preventive methods, repressive measures may be used to combat this evil.

In an earlier chapter we have commended the vigorous policy of our municipal administration in closing houses of prostitution and suppressing solicitation on the streets. We realize that the evil cannot be entirely eradicated, but we do maintain that its most degrading aspects and the commercial factors which play such a sinister role in connection with the open houses of ill fame can be stamped out entirely. If public opinion will declare that houses of prostitution shall never again be tolerated in this city, a distinct and permanent advance will have been made. We make our appeal primarily to the citizens of Hartford. Our constituted authorities have done their part well. But it must be remembered that the morality of a community depends more on the private life and public spirit of its individual citizens than on the administrative acts of public officials.

CHAPTER VIII.

SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS.

In the preceding pages of our report we have indicated at different points the practical conclusions to which our study of the social evil has led us and the facts and considerations on which they are based. By way of summary we embody these conclusions in the following recommendations:

(1) That the present policy of keeping the houses of prostitution closed be adhered to rigidly.

(2) That this policy of repression be extended to prostitution in connection with disorderly saloons, cafes, rooming houses and hotels.

(3) That a special fund be appropriated each year and placed at the disposal of the Mayor and the Chief of Police for use in employing detectives from outside the city whenever it appears that the police department is hampered by the fact that its own detectives are too well known.

(4) That there be no discrimination in respect to sex or social standing in the efforts to suppress the social evil.

(5) That our citizens take a special interest in the personnel and policies of the Police Court.

(6) That favorable consideration be given to the question of adding women to our police force, either as special officers or as additional probation officers, to do preventive work among girls.

(7) That an ordinance be enacted to insure adequate lighting of the moving picture theatres.

(8) That the statute concerning the admission of children to theatres and moving picture houses be enforced.

(9) That the tenement house laws be rigidly enforced and strong efforts made to furnish additional facilities for recreation under wholesome conditions.

(10) That the Board of Health be requested to furnish laboratory facilities to aid in the diagnosis and treatment of

venereal diseases; and that the Board of Health be further requested to secure the anonymous registration of such diseases.

(11) That careful consideration be given to the problem of sex education.

(12) That legislation be enacted along the lines of the Iowa Injunction and Abatement Law.

(13) That a law be passed containing the provisions of the Tin Plate ordinance of the city of Portland, Oregon.

(14) That legislation be enacted raising the age of consent for women to eighteen years; and together with this, legislation establishing degrees of rape in such manner that boys convicted of sexual relations with willing girls below the age of consent be not punished as severely as mature men.

(15) That action be taken to establish a State Reformatory for Women.

Of the above recommendations the first is the one which we would emphasize in concluding this report. Keep the houses of prostitution closed. It can be done and has been done in this city now for some eighteen months. None of the evils predicted by the advocates of toleration have followed. On the other hand, some of the worst evils of the traffic in vice have been diminished. This policy of suppression is the only one which has the sanction of law, and therefore the only one which we can honestly recommend. Enforce the law.

[SIGNED:]

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